

Settlements and Territories in Southern France between the Iron Age and the Late-Republican Period (7th to 1st Century BC): the Vidourle Valley

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Abstract

*From the Cévennes to the Mediterranean, across limestone hills and coastal lagoons, the valley of the Vidourle takes in all the features of the lower Languedoc geo-system. This 800 sq km catchment area has been settled for millennia and so is an excellent field of study for spatiotemporal analysis of population by means of surface surveys and programmed or rescue excavation. These have contributed to the rich database of 205 settlements between the Iron Age and the Late-Republican period (7th-1st centuries BC): archaeological sites (oppida, dwellings, burial sites) that have been mapped with a geographical information system using ArcGIS software. Detailed mapping helps us to analyse the spatiotemporal dynamics of the population within the geographic entity formed by the valley. Analysis has revealed contrasts in the rate of occupancy of its sectors from the coast to the Cévennes foothills, ranging from scattered dwelling places to population clusters within the oppida.**

INTRODUCTION

Rising to a height of 500 m at the foot of the Cévennes hills, the Vidourle River runs between Montpellier and Nîmes and has an outlet in the Mediterranean in the Languedoc-Roussillon region (fig. 1). It covers 95 km before reaching its mouth in the coastal lagoon, gathering the waters of a catchment area of 800 sq km and crossing a range of units in the regional geo-system. The Cévennes hills and foothill basins, limestone hills, garrigue scrub, plain and lagoon together form a contrasting landscape (fig. 2). But the current appearance of the delta is different from that of antiquity. Until the mid-19th century, the Vidourle flowed into the coastal lagoons, but with the large amount of silt it brought down, the lagoons have clogged and severe flooding of the river gradually drove the population towards the coast.¹

The prehistory and history of the Vidourle valley have interested many researchers for hundreds of years. Evidence of this interest goes as far back as the 16th century, though programmed excavation followed by rescue archaeology did not begin until the mid-20th century.² Together with extensive excavations, a prospection programme was developed from 1985 to 2013, directed by Claude Raynaud (CNRS-ASM) to locate and map settlements in the entire valley from Neolithic times to the Middle Ages. Part of the data has been analysed within the European *Archaeomedes*

programme which laid the bases for spatial archaeology in southern France in the 1990s.³ But it was from 2009 to 2014 that a diachronic study of the population on the scale of the valley from the Iron Age to the High Middle Ages was undertaken for a thesis.⁴ The purpose of this paper is to examine the dynamics of land occupancy from the sea to the hinterland within a broad chronological scope, to gain greater insight into the evolution of settlement patterns and the categories of archaeological settlement. Moreover, it aims to understand human behaviour in relation to a river, based on people's movements and ways of using land, as well as offering some answers to the role or roles of the waterway in this use.

In France, in most cases, research programmes have focused on portions of Mediterranean valleys, notably the *Archaeomedes* program, which was interested in the lower Rhône Valley, Stéphane Mauné's researches on the middle Hérault Valley, or also Frédérique Bertoncello's studies on the lower Argens Valley.⁵ However, in Italy, the Biferno valley (Molise) is a reference territory, through a multidisciplinary analysis from prehistory to the late 20th century of the entire valley.⁶ In the neighbouring region of Abruzzo, research has continued in this direction for about twenty years, in the heart of the Sangro Valley, as well as in the Tiber Valley, and in an Adriatic valley, the Potenza.⁷

The advantage of a study area extending over the whole of a river valley lies in the rich land-



Fig. 1. Location of the Vidourle valley (map M. Scrinzi - ASM).



Fig. 2. The Vidourle between plain and limestone hills (photo M. Scrinzi - ASM).



Fig. 3. Research situation in the study area, cities and different landscapes (map M. Scrinzi and S. Sanz - ASM).

scape between sea and mountains, true to the 'Braudelian' definition of the Mediterranean geosystem.⁸ So many environmental contexts lead to a multitude of forms of land use, habitat and net-

works, thus justifying the need for an analysis on this scale, in order to compare the situations in different sectors. What is the nature of the settlement evolution between the Iron Age and the

first decades after the Roman conquest? Are there differences between the occupation of the upper and lower Vidourle? Does the river influence the location choices of the settlements?

In this study, these issues are discussed with respect to the Iron Age and Late Republican period, from the 7th-1st centuries BC. The Vidourle valley features in the protohistoric cultural context of Mediterranean Gaul - rich, varied and fairly well known.⁹ The advantage of this contribution lies in its complementarity to previous researches, by addressing a developing problem, especially through several regional studies between Catalonia and Provence.¹⁰

METHODOLOGY

The Vidourle is ideal for this study because many archaeological activities (surveys, excavations, geo-archaeological studies) have resulted in several publications on the lower valley and part of the middle valley where the history of settlement is partially known.¹¹ This is less evident in the high valley where the investment of archaeological research was limited. To enrich the archaeological map and get a picture, at least partially, of the whole valley, several survey operations were conducted from 2008 to 2013 between the middle and the upper Vidourle under my direction. Vineyards and cultivated fields have been the subject of systematic surveys, unlike woodlands, where ground readability is low or zero (fig. 3).

Prospecting for some of these sectors was conducted according to visibility conditions, but also geographic conditions, with a preference for hill-tops corresponding to strategic points.

Thus, this new program has recognized 115 new sites, completing the corpus which amounts to 832 sites dating between the 7th century BC and the 10th century AD. For the time period that interests us in the context of this article, the database amounts to 205 sites (*oppida*, habitats, burial sites). Moreover, these field operations are a major scientific contribution to our knowledge of the settlement of sub-Cevennes hinterland, long considered isolated, unattractive and underpopulated. If the geography of this sector, unfavourable to agriculture, contributed to this idea, the lack of research, mainly concentrated on the coast, also played a role. After the fieldwork, we could work on a river valley completely covered by the survey programs (fig. 4). These are supported and complemented by numerous scheduled and rescue excavations, which enrich our knowledge, both on the function and organiza-

tion of the settlement systems, as well as on the chronology and evolution of material culture.

In order to make precise cartographic documents, on which depends the quality of careful analysis of spatial data, the entire corpus has been integrated into an ArcGIS. As for the method of analysis, it was based on cartographic results, and topography. Indeed, the field of study follows a geographical logic that is equivalent to the catchment area of a river valley. We are in the presence of an area that is part of a very special local dynamic, including various landscape units (plains, hills, mountains). While retaining some of the criteria established by the Archaeomedes Project such as surface area, artefacts, materials, persistence, date of intake, essential to understand the dynamics of land use, we proceed with an analysis of settlement that relates to these different units, starting from the coast, to trace the valley to its source. This process allows us to perceive the specifics for each period, by developing case studies, including excavated sites, or sites



Fig. 4. Surveys in fields and vines (photo M. Scrinzi).



Fig. 5. Land occupancy in the Vidourle valley in the 7th century BC. 1: Arriasse; 2: Port-Vielh; 3: Tonnerre I (map M. Scrinzi and S. Sanz - ASM).

that have particular characteristics in terms of artefacts or topography.

THE SPATIO-TEMPORAL DYNAMICS OF SETTLEMENT

Older First Iron Age (7th Century BC): Settlement in the Continuity of the Final Bronze Age IIIb

At the end of the Final Bronze Age IIIb, between the last quarter of the 8th century and the first quarter of the 7th century BC, there was a growth in population which could be related to climatic conditions conducive to crop and livestock farming. This led to the development of open-air clusters of dwellings built of perishable materials with a rather short lifespan, the outcome of an incomplete settling process implying a subsistence economy based principally on pastoralism.¹² It was in this context that the transition between Final Bronze Age IIIb and the first Iron Age arose, the early phase of which was still marked by this type of settlement.

The data we have for this period tell us that there were 16 settlements with a lifespan of less than a century and a size for the most part estimated at under 1000 sq m. This occupancy was mainly concentrated on the hillsides southeast of the Bois des Lens in the middle valley of the Vidourle, where there is a set of eleven dwelling places round the fertile basin that developed at the foot of the hill (fig. 5). This sector is typified by a diversity of natural resources such as water, wood and clay which explains why settlements concentrated here. Only the one at Arriasse has been excavated and has revealed traces of dwellings made of perishable materials: hollowed foundations, two silo pits, pieces of a hearth and carbonised seeds (fig. 5, n° 1).¹³ Research and experiments on silos have shown they were used over the long term to feed a family of four and/or for storage against a poor harvest. They might actually have contained a store of seed but, in any case, their capacity implies family rather than communal usage. Carpological data offer information on the subsistence economy of this population that grew barley and wheat, gathered oats and acorns and bred cattle, sheep and/or goats. Overall, the Arriasse site opens a window onto the life of the population southeast of the Bois des Lens, one that it is very tempting to extend to neighbouring settlements known only by prospection.

This situation does however contrast with the rest of the valley because there were no dwellings in higher areas, while just five settlements can be

detected across the middle valley, the delta and the lagoon. Boring of the Port-Vielh and Tonnerre sites (fig. 5, n° 2 and 3) has revealed traces of dwellings made of perishable materials (brush and wood), thus confirming the data found at Arriasse.¹⁴ However, artefacts found at Tonnerre provide evidence for the beginnings of the trade which developed dynamically in the following century, with the presence of the first imported Mediterranean goods consisting of Etruscan amphorae and *bucchero nero*, dating from the last quarter of the 7th century BC. The sub-Cévennes backcountry remains, for now, away from the organized traffic around wine. We have highlighted, in the previous section, the low density of occupation in the valley of Vidourle where most settlements are only occupied during the first three quarters of the 7th century BC. It is therefore not surprising to note the scarcity of imports in the hinterland, where a new dynamic is created in the following century, in which Mediterranean trade had its full place.

Overall, the configuration of settlement during this period does not allow us to speak of a network organisation. The dwellings here most certainly offered a large degree of self-support but they could have belonged to the same community in the southeast of the Bois des Lens, with an economy based mainly on stock-breeding, hunting and the development of farming.¹⁵ Their scarcity, small size and short-term occupancy implies an incomplete settling process. The existence of silos in Arriasse does however reveal a trend towards permanent settlement, perhaps related to management of farming surpluses. In the upper valley, where there are no settlements, the presence of burial monuments, dolmens and tumuli, could indicate a territorial division between the worlds of the living and the dead.¹⁶ Yet the smallness of the dwellings and their construction of perishable materials makes them difficult to detect by prospection, especially in this mainly woodland area. This situation contrasts sharply with the first phase of the Late Iron Age where tombs and necropoleis were closer to the dwellings.

Younger First Iron Age (6th Century BC): Scattered Dwellings to Clustered Settlement in Oppida

The 7th century BC was still steeped in the Final Bronze Age IIIb culture but the following century heralded new territorial dynamics. With 33 settlements recorded together with six presumably contemporaneous burial monuments (only two

are confirmed for the 6th century BC), the number of points occupied almost doubled in the first phase of the Late Iron Age (fig. 6).

A new form of land occupancy appeared in the early 6th century BC, evidently driven by Mediterranean trade and the grouping of populations in hillside settlements, *oppida*. The 6th century BC is the period with the greatest number of new settlements recorded but with a proportion of abandonments that is high, owing to their small area and impermanence. These findings thus provide evidence of the instability of settlement in scattered dwellings. With the appearance of *oppida*, however, we find a growth of settlements that could reach a size of several hectares and were occupied for more than a century.

The lagoon environment offered fishing, shellfish harvesting and salt farming but it must be said that these activities are still poorly identified and it was probably access to Mediterranean trade that drove the new economic growth. Indeed, from the beginning of the 6th century BC, the capacity of Phocaeans to develop a commercial network towards the western Mediterranean is perceptible through the foundation of Marseille, Ampurias and perhaps a first port in Agde.¹⁷ From this period onward, traffic is shared among many groups: Etruscans, the Phocaeans and further west, the Phoenician-Punic.¹⁸ On the shores of the Mauguio lagoon, the accentuation of trade, early in the 6th century BC, associated with a decrease in the level of the body of water, are certainly the key factors that have led to increased density of occupation in the sector.

The lagoon settlements received goods, mainly wine from the Italian peninsula, in exchange for local resources such as grain, meat and leather.¹⁹ The Gauls then carried these goods into the hinterland themselves. Without extensive excavation, the area now settled is difficult to detect and the poor state of conservation of the first Iron Age levels, which have often shifted location, cannot be discounted. Were there several scattered domestic units or one or more villages? This question remains unanswered but does not undermine their importance in the Mediterranean trade of eastern Languedoc which benefitted the settlements in the garrigue scrubland and sub-Cévennes hinterland.

Established on hillsides, not far from waterways, for the purposes of defence and control of routes and farmland, *oppida* were an indication of the way populations joined and restructured their settlements within urban areas that were sometimes fortified. This new form of occupancy demonstrates that the settlement process was

almost complete and that new agrarian practices had developed, along with a significant rise in population. The process included a much higher rate of travel between the coast and hinterland, as can be seen from the Mediterranean artefacts found in the upper valley of the Vidourle. Transported by land or water, these goods were sold and redistributed in the neighbouring settlements.

As for the scattered settlements, dwellings and farm buildings, these were built on the plain at the foot of the hillsides, generally near to a waterway, implying human presence outside the *oppidum*, across the food-producing territory of the urban territories. This position adjacent to routes also offered territorial control, while small hillside dwellings could act as lookouts and refuge in the event of danger.²⁰ Furthermore, it cannot be excluded that some family groups in some settlements may have been independent.

In the mid-6th century BC, all of the coastal settlements were abandoned with the founding of the port district of *Lattara* on the coastal lagoon where the Vidourle had its outlet between the end of this century and the beginning of the 5th century BC. This initiative was to underpin Mediterranean trade.²¹ The founding took place at a time of other lagoon port establishments such as Le Cailar in the valley of the Vistre, an old tributary of the Vidourle²² (fig. 6). However, the Etruscan trade was in decline as early as this period. The progression of Massalian trading, and the development of its vineyards, ceramics workshops and demography, probably fuelled by the contribution of the Phocaean population, explains the decline of Etruscan imports.²³ Marseille developed a large commercial area from the Alps to the Hérault in which it ensured a monopoly of wine imports, clearly visible thanks to the amphorae and tableware. Its rule required the installation of anchor points in order to defend this area of economic domination, but also to redistribute goods. The indices of the Greek presence in the ports of Arles, of Espeyran and Le Cailar could point in that direction.²⁴

All these changes in the forms of land occupancy do not seem to have altered burial practices. Although there are still some dating problems, few changes can be found in the map of burial monuments, still centred on tumuli. It is however important to stress the reduction in distance between burial places and dwelling places. The settlement process undoubtedly lies behind this reduction which is also found in the 5th century BC.



Fig. 6. Land occupancy in the Vidourle valley in the 6th century BC. 1: Puech des Mourgues; 2: Villevieille; 3: La Jouffe; 4: La Cougourlude (map M. Scrinzi and S. Sanz - ASM).



Fig. 7. Land occupancy in the Vidourle valley in the 5th century BC. 1: Puech des Mourgues; 2: Villevieille; 3: La Jouffe; 4: Plan de la Tour; 5: La Cougourlude (map M. Scrinzi and S. Sanz - ASM).

*Transition from First to Second Iron Age
(5th Century BC)*

With 30 sites of occupancy and two tombs recorded, there were hardly any more settlements in the transition phase than during the previous century. The process begun in the 6th century BC continued with population clusters in port sites and *oppida*, while scattered dwellings were more numerous on the left bank of the middle Vidourle valley (fig. 7).

The coastal population could be found clustered into large dwelling sites but the *oppida* in the hinterland still had a focal effect. Despite the creation of the Plan de la Tour *oppidum* (Dedet 1987), the number of occupied settlements declined slightly and the number of new ones dropped sharply, even being overtaken by the number of abandoned sites. The new settlements however were larger than the vacated ones, ranging in size from 0,5 to 1 hectare. This could indicate a new factor of population concentration into nucleated settlements.

In order to control the territory better, there was a network of scattered dwelling places, dependent or otherwise on the *oppida*, over the plains and bottom of the hills in the middle valley, particularly on the left bank. While the territory of these upland districts is not easy to ascertain, what sort of relations existed between them? As the crow flies, the distance separating them ranged from 8-11 kms and their position gave them wide visibility. Having visited most of them, I know that, in clear weather, the settlements had visual contact with each other, by means of fire for example. This theory also holds for sites between the coast and the southern *oppida*, because the sea is visible from *Ambrussum* and Puech des Mourgues. Even if each community had its own subsistence and political territory, the valley could have been under common control by a system of visual communication, such as the routes leading inland from the Vidourle valley to the Cévennes hinterland and the Hérault and Gardon valleys, which also facilitated contact with the outlying dwellings.

Though the overall organisation of these communities seems well understood, the structure of their dwellings is much less so. According to a recent summary of the eastern Languedoc,²⁵ the differences with the 6th century BC seem minimal. Only the use of stone, evidenced in the Plan de la Tour *oppidum*, shows any real change in building methods.

Mortuary processes also changed, with the

abandonment of tumuli practices and the adoption of individual interment tombs, on the edge of the settlements but also within them, as can be seen at Plan de la Tour. This system was carried on into the next century.

The commercial dynamic is dominated by Massalian trade during the first half of the 5th century BC, but Etruscan imports are not excluded and would now come via the Massalians.²⁶ Nevertheless, during the second half of the 5th century BC, for settlements for which we have quantified the ceramic, we have recorded a significant decline of Etruscan amphora proportions in relation to Massalian amphora. This marks the full integration of the eastern Languedoc into the economy of Marseille.²⁷

*Second Iron Age (4th-3rd Centuries BC): Gradual
Desertion of the Countryside and Urban Concentration*

Though the *oppida* seemed to hold their own at the start of the second Iron Age, most of the scattered dwellings were abandoned. Eleven settlements were occupied in the first half of the 4th century BC, including four new ones, half the number as in the previous century. On the coast, the urban areas of *Lattara* and *Le Cailar*, as well as the *oppida* of *Substantion* and *La Roque*, were the focus of occupancy, while a new *oppidum* was built at *Ambrussum* between the late 4th and early 3rd centuries BC²⁸ (fig. 8). This trend had become stronger by the mid-4th century BC and throughout the 3rd when the *oppida* and most of the plain settlements were deserted for the *Ambrussum oppidum* and the *Vaunage* and coastal settlements (fig. 9).

The drop in the number of plain settlements does not, however, imply total desertion of the countryside, which was still in use under the control of the *oppida* and lagoon urban areas. With each of these large communities being liable to take over the political and administrative management of a territory, the question is on what scale could this control of the countryside have been? At the core of this question is the issue of territory and scope of influence of the centres of population. Given that there were few installations in the 3rd century BC, can it be assumed that most of the farming land in the Vidourle valley was actually farmed? This seems unlikely in view of the size of the catchment area, but the political importance gained by the urban areas could have led them to widen their territory, as could the neighbouring *oppida* in the valley such as *Vaun-*



Fig. 8. Aerial view of the Ambrussum oppidum: its rampart and the Gallo-roman bridge on the Vidourle river (photo M. Scrinzi).

age Mauressip, Nages or the urban area of Nîmes further away. In this context, territorial management took on another dimension and small farms were somewhat irrelevant compared to the newly founded or reorganised centres of population. What were the reasons for this restructuring? Was it simply the evolution of a system established two centuries earlier? Was it for political or economic reasons? Several theories have been put forward.

The process of population concentration in the eastern Languedoc definitely intensified over the 3rd century BC, with a network of urban areas spread evenly over the low plains and foothills. The hinterland was less involved in this occupancy, apart from two upland places still occupied in the Gardon valley.²⁹ The importance of this tributary of the Rhone as a route into the Cévennes was established and increased by the maintenance of some settlements. The Mus *oppidum*, unfortunately poorly preserved for the period, could be the missing link between this valley and the Vidourle valley in the sub-

Cévennes hinterland (fig. 9). While this sector belonged to a smaller network and settlement system, the means of occupancy were clearly evolving owing to a range of factors.

During the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, most local economies underwent a period of recession, highlighted by inequality in the amount of imports between the coast and the hinterland and by a drop in farming output. The regional economy was increasingly under Massalian power with its omnipresent amphora and fine pottery equipment on the lagoon sites, and the installation of colonies all along the coast of the Mediterranean Gaul.³⁰ There is no equivalent for this development in the lands towards the Cévennes, where imports sharply declined in the first half of the 4th century BC, especially in the Vidourle area. The reason for this must be related to the development of *oppida* as independent political entities, that could have adopted new practices allowing them to raise the cost of imported goods and make a profit. However, this rise could also be the reason for the drop in imports to the hinter-

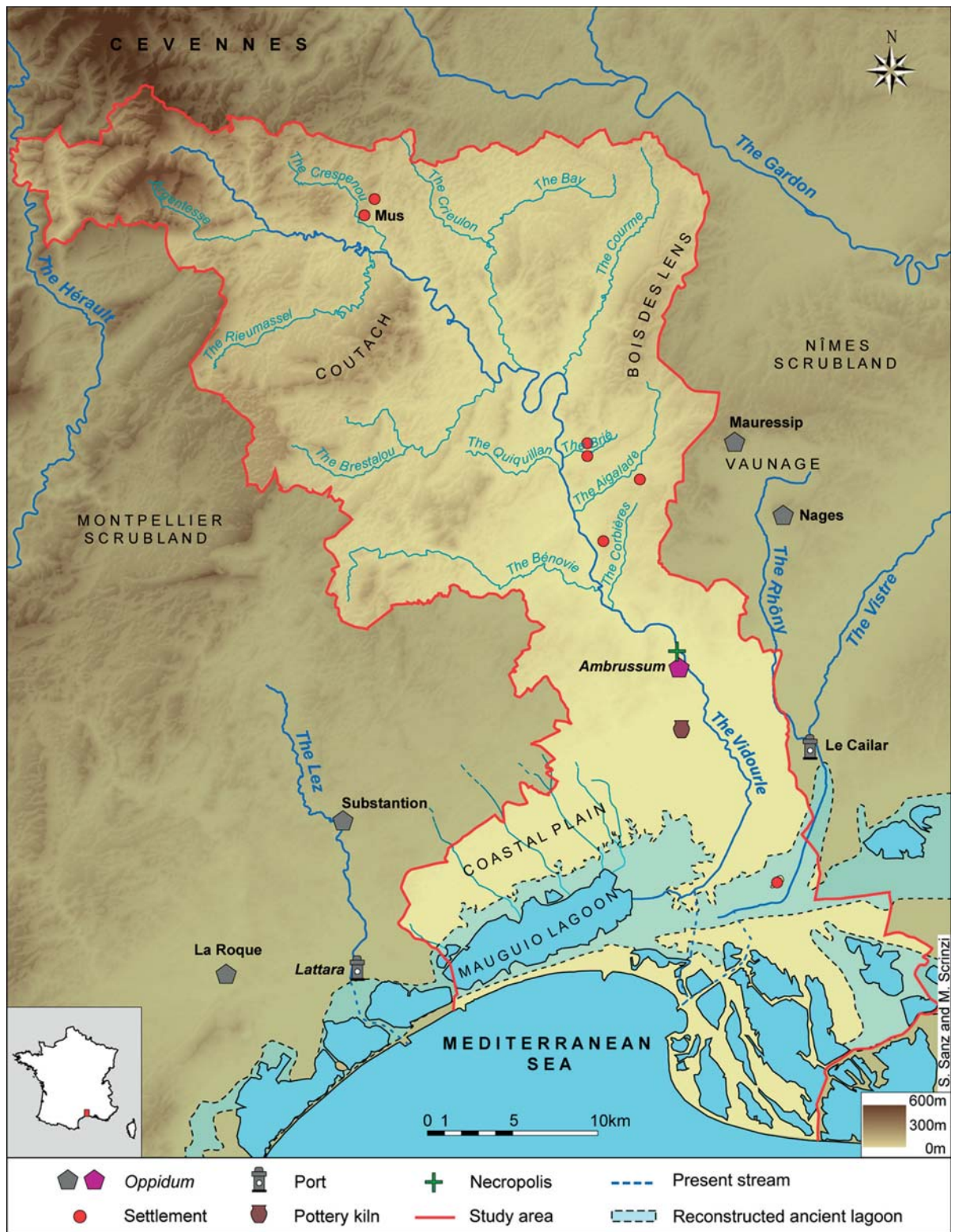


Fig. 9. Land occupancy in the Vidourle valley in the first half of the 3rd century BC (map M. Scrinzi and S. Sanz - ASM).



Fig. 10. Land occupancy in the Vidourle valley in the first half of the 2nd century BC (map M. Scrinzi and S. Sanz - ASM).

land from the early 4th century BC leading to the disappearance of settlements in this sector.³¹

Politics should not be ignored either, specifically the disruptive events of the Punic wars in the western Mediterranean in the 3rd century BC. In this respect, it should be remembered that basalt balls were found at the foot of *Ambrussum* ramparts, implying that it could have been besieged.³²

End of the Iron Age: Redistribution of Scattered Dwelling Places in the Plain During the 2nd Century (200-125 BC)

There was a turning point in land occupancy in the 2nd century BC with the creation of sixteen new small settlements (usually less than 1000 sq m), few of which were occupied for more than a century (fig. 10). The preference for summits and promontories found in the first and early second Iron Age gave way to a new preference for lowlands and new methods of land use. This redistribution of dwelling places did not affect the devel-

opment of existing urban areas that expanded and were restructured.

Indeed settlement developed round older seats such as *Ambrussum* and *Lattara*, which continued to hold a large portion of the concentrated population. Rebuilding went on in these urban areas with restoration work done on the *Ambrussum* ramparts³³ and earth platforms made for a port in *Lattara*, along with the building of new suburbs.³⁴ This was not a local feature as can be seen, for example, in the Vaunage where the Castels *oppidum* in Nages underwent urban development and had a new wall built. All this work, along with the rise in the number of homes and farms, was the outcome of population growth and perhaps economic growth too with the development of Italian trade to the detriment of the Massalian monopoly.³⁵ Indeed, early in the 2nd century BC, there is an intensification of trade flows that comes from the Italian peninsula, with increased imports of Campanian A and Greco-Italic amphorae to most communities. This amplification of Italic trade is linked to the important business of the

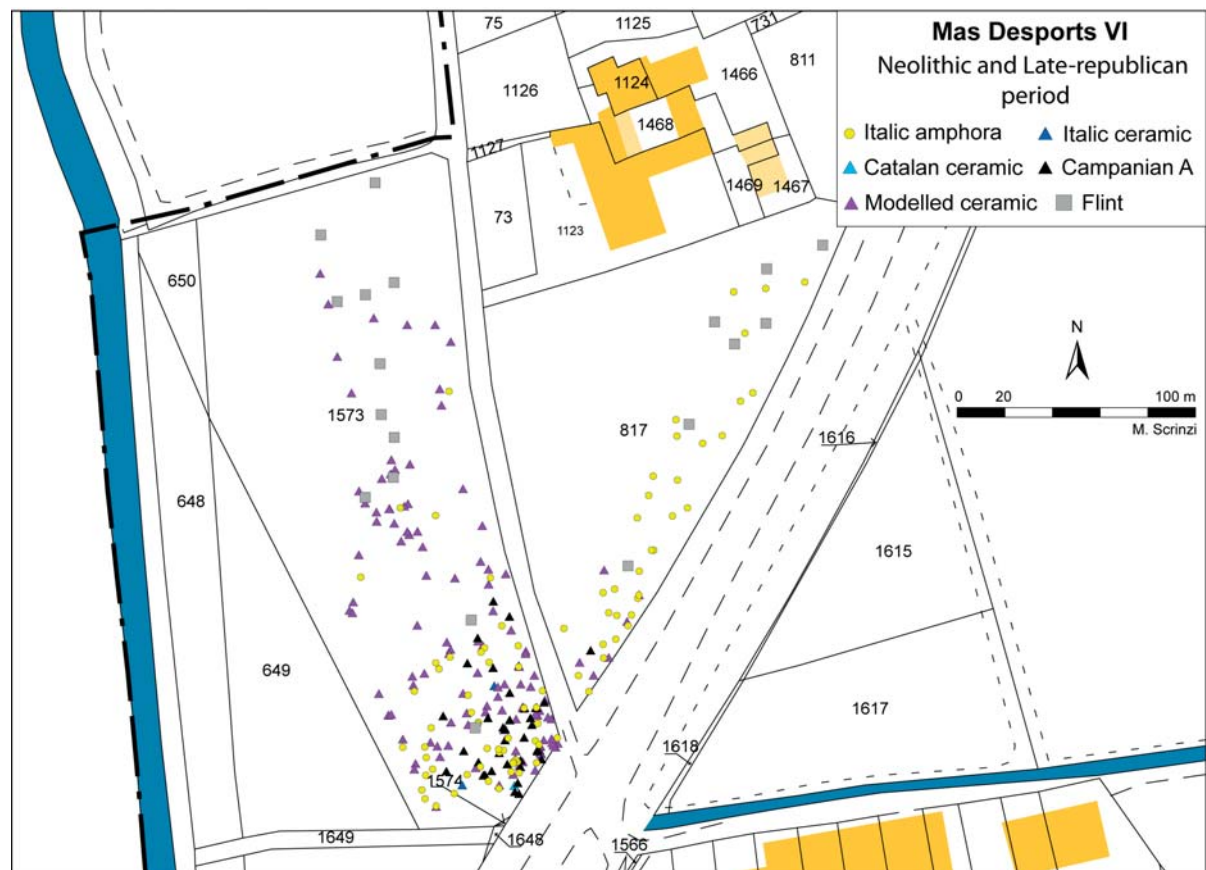


Fig. 11. Mas Desports: GPS plan of 2nd century BC and Late-republican period (M. Scrinzi - ASM).

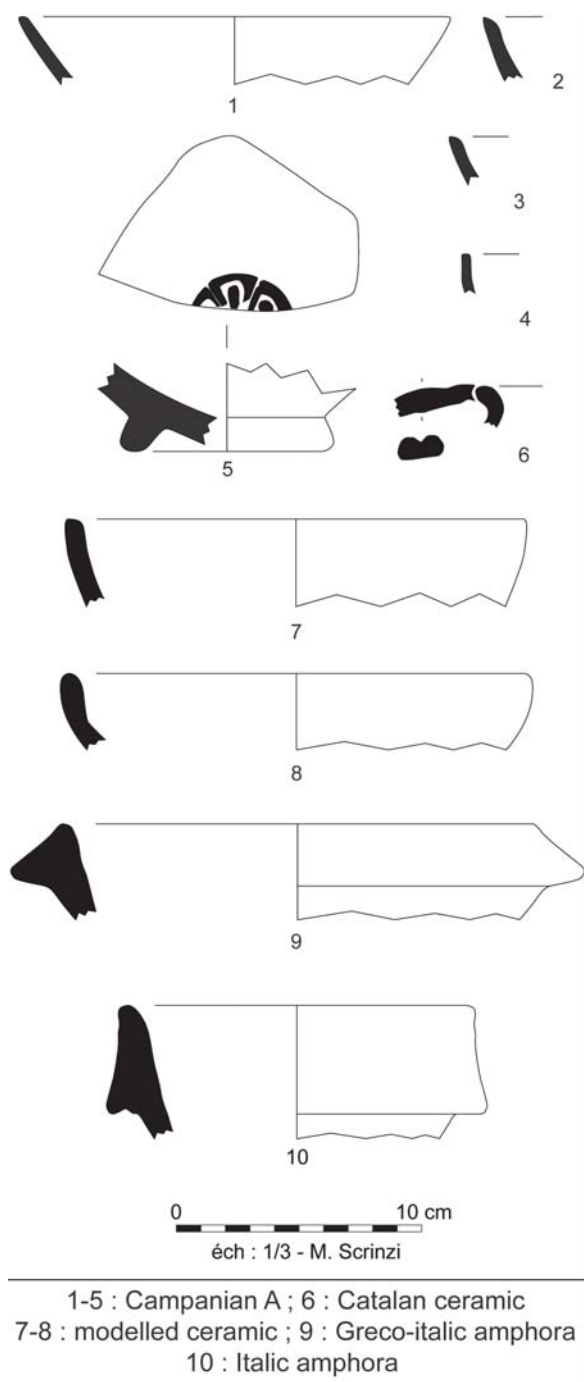


Fig. 12. Ceramics of Mas Desports
 (M. Scrinzi - ASM).

ports of Marseille and Fos, but also to the conquest of Spain, which became a Roman province in 197-196 BC.³⁶ Following this event, the Ibero-Punic commercial field in Gaul, encompassing the Aude and Garonne valleys, became now

dependent on the Romans who could also distribute their goods.

This situation, conducive to the expansion of farming seems to have been accompanied by the founding of settlements dependent on urban areas, or larger communities such as the port site of Mas Desports in the Vidourle delta (fig. 10). The location of the site, on the east Horn of the Mauguio lagoon, placed at the head or at the outlet, appears to favour a commercial centre dedicated to wine and perhaps salt in the Vidourle valley. The rise of Italic commerce, whose impact is significant in the Mas Desports with 76% of ceramics, has certainly motivated the creation of a new port between Lattara and Le Cailar³⁷ (figs 11 and 12).

While the coastal plain regained some of its strength, the upper valley of the Vidourle and the garrigue scrubland round Montpellier do not seem to have had much settlement. What could be the reason for the apparent desertion of the hinterland? Conversely, Nîmes and the Gardon valley do not seem to have suffered like this. The continued existence of centres that had withstood time could offer some explanation, with *oppida* such as Castelvielh and Serre de Brienne constantly occupied since the 4th or even 5th century BC.³⁸ New settlements grew up round these centres of population. In the upper valley of the Vidourle, the only site of reference could be Mus, but the data gathered so far do not allow us to assert that the site was occupied during the first three-quarters of the 2nd century BC.

It thus seems that a process similar to the one found in the 6th century BC was marked by new economic growth in the coastal plain, later gradually reaching the uplands, from the 2nd or early 1st century BC.

The Late-Republican Period (Late 2nd Century BC-Third Quarter 1st Century BC): Between Redeployment of Scattered Settlement and the Development of Urban Areas

The decades following the annexation of southern Gaul to the empire of Rome in 118 BC marks a development in the number of settlements both on the coast and in the hinterland, as well as a re-occupation and/or a restructuring of proto-historic origin agglomerations.³⁹ In the Vidourle valley, this new dynamic shows itself in the creation of 105 settlements between the late 2nd century BC and the third quarter of the 1st century BC (fig. 13). While nearly half of them have been occupied for less than 100 years, it should be recalled that, like the previous century, some dat-

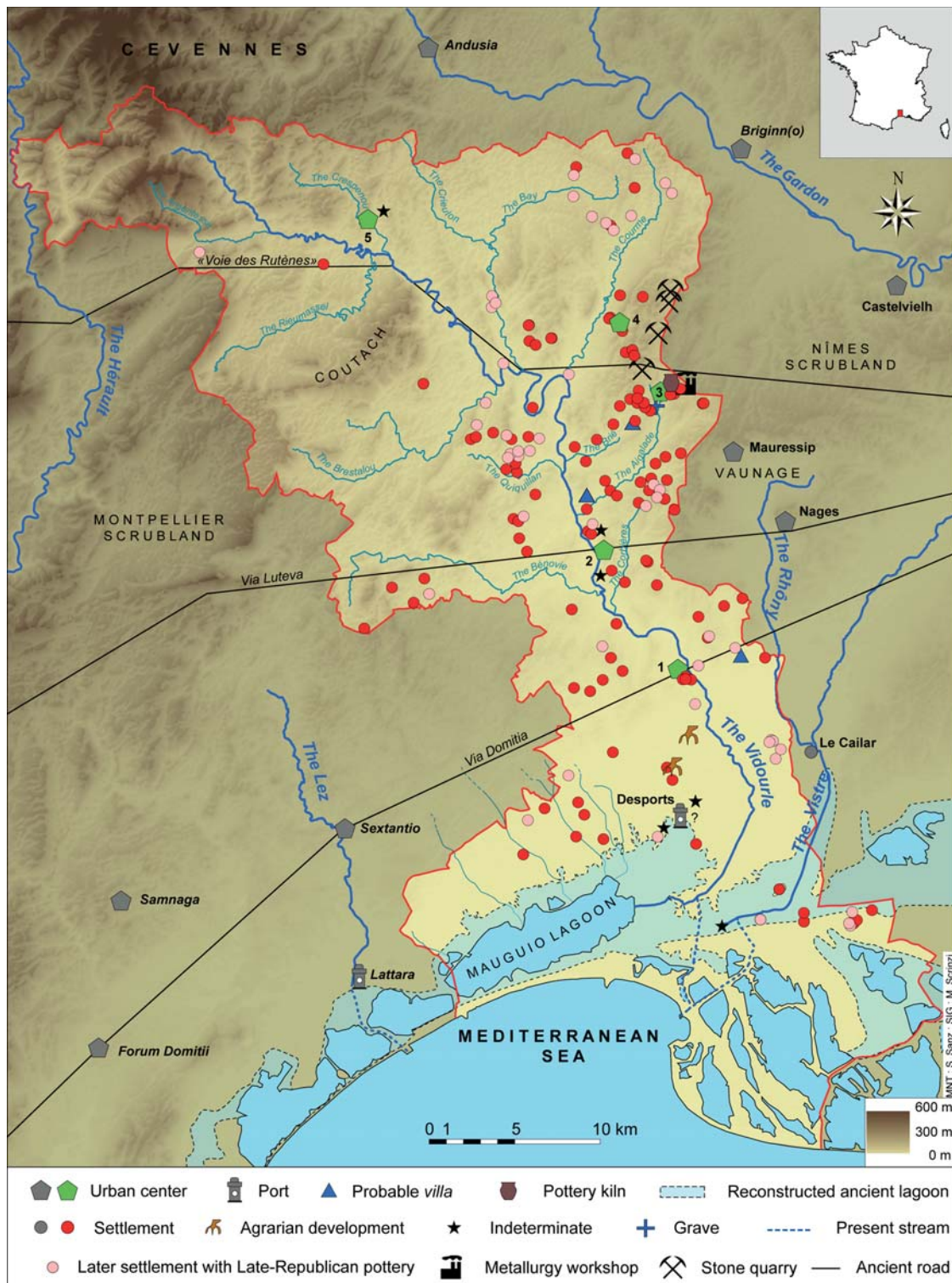


Fig. 13. Land occupancy in the Vidourle valley between the end of the 2nd century BC. and the first three quarters of the 1st century BC. 1: Ambrussum; 2: Villevieille; 3: Prouvessa; 4: La Jouffe; 5: Mus (map M. Scrinzi and S. Sanz – ASM).

ings are approximate due to the scarcity of relevant chronological information.⁴⁰ Therefore, most of the settlements can be dated between the end of the 2nd century BC and the 1st century BC or during the 1st century BC overall.

In the coastal plain, the current map has a dynamic that develops gradually around three main institutions: *Ambrussum*, Le Cailar and Mas Desports. However, the continued occupation of some sites for several centuries constitutes the beginnings of the development of the occupation and exploitation of the soil that will continue during the Early Empire and that we found in other lagoon areas such as the edge of the Thau lagoon and Saint-Blaise lagoon.⁴¹ The latter hypothesis is supported by the creation of a land registry in the coastal plain, during the 1st century BC, for the planning and the development of land, essentially for economic and geopolitical purposes.⁴² This landscape subject to the Land Registry would be adapted to new production targets, and would allow the conquest and control of agricultural land against the action of running and stagnant water and a better integration of local communities into the Roman world.

From *Ambrussum*, at the start of the middle Vidourle Valley (fig. 13, n° 1), a network of towns develops along the river, but this network is absent in the coastal plain except for the presence of *Lattara*. We can make out five of those towns that are at an average distance of 10 kms from one another and that have a protohistoric origin, except Prouvessa. These clusters have a surface between 5 and 10 ha, except Villevieille which is over 15 ha, and are encircled mostly by a rampart (*Ambrussum*, Villevieille, Mus). *Ambrussum*'s urban development has been clarified by the excavations, just like Villevieille's urban development (fig. 13, n° 2). It shows a change in town planning and in domestic architecture as early as the 1st century BC. However, we cannot be specific for the other establishments which only have occasional items enhanced by comparison.

This analysis suggests a territory dominated by a network of settlements inherited from the Iron Age, strengthened by the creation of Prouvessa. This also makes us question the reasons that led to the reoccupation, then the embellishment of ancient *oppida*. They most likely left traces (rampart, dwellings), marking the landscape of their footprints and their past. It also suggests the possibility of an occupation of these *oppida* without break from their establishment until the Roman conquest, but whose traces remain for now vestigial. The strategic location of

these *oppida*, dominating rivers and land routes, is another argument in favour of this post-conquest reoccupation. In parallel, the reoccupation or intensification of the occupation of those settlements is accompanied by the creation *ex nihilo* of a new smaller settlement centre, Prouvessa.

Set on the southern flanks of the Bois des Lens, in the middle of the 1st century BC, it participated in the structuring and use of the Combas-Montpezat basin but also of the Bois des Lens resources (fig. 13, n° 3). But how to explain the enthusiasm of people for this geographic area on which an agglomeration is implanted as well as many settlements, while it remained almost uninhabited since the late 7th century BC? Research by Elise Fovet highlights the characteristics and soil qualities and the important water resources of this sector that make it favourable for farming and agriculture. In contrast, she highlights the constraints of that environment and notably the plains of the basin, where waterlogged soils have very low drainage capacity, that would result in excess water.⁴³ This therefore justifies the position of most facilities on the hills and terraces on the Cambroux site for the construction of housing and the cultivation of the land. In addition to the agronomic potential, this region has many natural resources: clay, iron ore and stone.

These agglomerations demonstrated the power of a native oligarchy supported by a large, mostly rural, customer base, as indicated by the development of scattered settlements. These are small (between 100 and 2000 sq m) and have, generally, little ceramics and building materials. This, however, does not exclude that the most important habitats have gathered some communities and participated in the structuring of space and population. Nevertheless, the creation of urban areas doesn't necessarily mean the development of scattered settlements as is the case in the high valley of Vidourle, where Mus seems very isolated compared to other population centres (fig. 13, n° 5). Incomplete surveys in the northeast of the watershed, as well as in the ubiquitous scrubland areas, combined with the often difficult search conditions may be responsible. Moreover, lack of arable land in some areas is not conducive to human settlement. As a result, the hypothesis of habitats established on hills covered with scrub, like those to the southeast of the Bois des Lens, is suggested. Nevertheless, the lack of knowledge about the evolution of Mus associated with a small number of occupied points in the high valley, makes it difficult to assess the importance and influence of the agglomeration when it

was created. The defensive wall as well as centralization of agricultural activities, suggests a concentration of population in Mus. Ultimately, while agriculture, exploitation of natural resources, and the gradual integration of Transalpine Gaul into the grip of Rome justify this increase of scattered habitat, the thesis of an Italic immigration is not excluded.⁴⁴

Economically, the Roman conquest and the direct intervention of *negotiatores* in trade circuits, due to increasing demand from local populations, have generated a considerable increase in import volume from the late 2nd century to the mid-1st century BC. This resulted in the massive influx of Campanian dishes, and especially Type 1 Dressel wine amphorae flooding the market in all of Gaul, displaying an overwhelming dominance compared to Hispanic and Punic production.⁴⁵ The increase in the competition by Italic wine, heralds the progressive decline in Massalian imports, which are interrupted in the last quarter of the century. It is from this period that Italic containers replace Greco-Italic amphorae. While Marseille doesn't distribute the wine anymore, the city might still be an intermediary in the spread of these products.

Trading patterns show new changes from the third quarter of the 1st century BC., with a steady decline of Mediterranean imports. If Italic amphorae and dishes remain the majority, wine, oil and fish-sauce from Baetica and Tarraconensis grow gradually.⁴⁶ However, the increase of the trade with Catalonia and Baetica could signal the abandonment of the Italic market in favour of the Hispanic market, but the smallness of these imports is not enough to compete with the Italic trade. This finding can be explained by a drop in demand in Italic wines in connection with the development of viticulture in southern Gaul.

Indeed, the vineyards continue to grow in Languedoc, as we can see in *Lattara* and Nîmes, where traces of Late-Republican vineyard plantations were excavated.⁴⁷ The analysis of land use also reveals the proliferation of dozens of rural settlements linked to a frontier, some of which might have been devolved to viticulture, perhaps at the instigation of the original Italic settlers. The emergence of workshops for the production of wine amphorae in western Transalpine Gaul and in the Rhone Valley supports this idea, although there are none of those structures in the Vidourle valley.⁴⁸ So it is a Gallic wine that is implanted permanently and becomes stronger and stronger, and whose production takes a growing share of the market in the early Roman Empire.

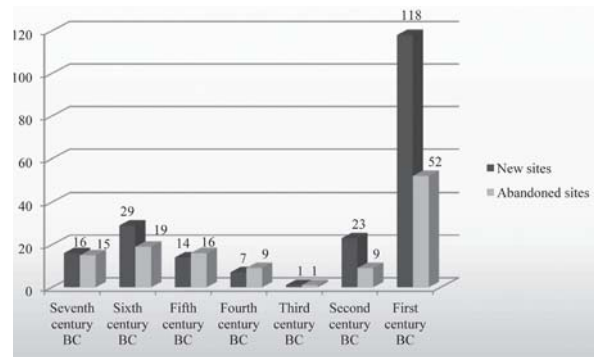


Fig. 14. Number of new sites and abandoned sites per century in the Iron Age and late-republican period (M. Scrinzi).

CONCLUSION

From the emergence of scattered dwellings to the gradual clustering of populations within the *oppida* and coastal posts, the Vidourle valley offers a view of human occupancy of Gaul in the Iron Age. The river, a north-south route inland from the sea to the hills, lent structure to the territory and, with its tributaries, conditioned the way settlement was organised. The *oppida*, urban centres established on the hills overlooking the Vidourle and its rivers, controlled the routes over land and water. These provided the link between the coastal ports where goods from the Mediterranean, especially wine, were landed, and the hinterland sites.

The clustering process begun in the 6th century BC came to an end in the 3rd century BC with the gradual abandonment of most scattered dwelling places and *oppida*. This did not prevent the development of new centres such as *Ambrussum* and other settlements beyond our immediate study area. It was at the end of the second Iron Age that there was a new thrust towards scattered dwellings which expanded in the late 2nd century BC with the annexation of southern Gaul by the Romans in 118 BC, linked to a growth in the number of settlements throughout the valley and reoccupancy and/or restructuring of urban areas dating back to protohistoric times.

The relationship between coast and hinterland, geographically different but linked by the river, lies at the core of our analysis. Our research highlights similarities in settlement forms across the entire valley. Beneath this apparent uniformity, however, there are significant differences in the population density of the coastal plain and inland areas, the latter being much lower. Why? A first response to this question concerns the Mediter-

raean Sea and its possibilities for commercial and cultural exchange; another response focuses on the natural resources and favourable soils that influenced the development of agricultural and crafting activities. Even if a full understanding of settlement in the high valley zone is hindered by vegetation that makes these areas difficult to survey, the levels of settlement remain, in all cases, well below those documented at lower elevations. Indeed, the scarcity of settlement dispersal in the cultivated areas of the high valley indicates limited investment in the hinterland.

As a strategic passageway from the coast to the interior, with a supply of fresh water and a fertile alluvial plain, the Vidourle and its tributaries have guided the locational choices of its past inhabitants. These demonstrate a desire to be close to the river for convenience and in order to control it; in parallel, the hills and elevated areas provided security against flooding, particularly for urban areas, and the possibility for wider territorial control. As an axis of penetration into the hinterland, the Vidourle was also a trade route between the interior and the sea.⁴⁹

The entire valley was integrated into the different dynamics of exchange observed in southern Gaul: Etruscan and Massalian trade in the Iron Age and Italic imports during the Late-Republican and Augustan periods. Nevertheless, the coastline was logically more integrated with Mediterranean trade than was the hinterland, and port facilities occupied a decisive place in the receipt, sale and redistribution of goods.

Comparing the settlement of the Vidourle Valley during the Iron Age, to other Mediterranean valleys in Spain and Italy, many similarities are noteworthy despite the different historical and political contexts. The first is the meeting of populations in cities placed at regular intervals along the river to control the route between sea and hinterland. This is particularly significant in the Francoli Valley in Catalonia, as well as between *Satricum* and *Antium* in Lazio and in the Potenza Valley (Marche), in Italy. In parallel, rural settlements occupy the plains and low-lying areas but are infrequent, especially between the 5th and 4th century BC. However, in Lazio, the 6th century BC shows a phase of development of these facilities along the rivers, in the image of what we see in the Vidourle Valley⁵⁰. Finally, in Catalonia and Lazio, the Roman conquest is followed by the growth of the rural population and a development in most cities which are already occupied, which shows clear analogy to the South of France.

Ultimately, these examples illustrate a homo-

geneity in the structure of the Iron Age settlement, in the various valleys of the north-western Mediterranean. However, this first approach deserves further research through conducting a comprehensive comparative study paralleling the different settlement systems, their observed development and categories of sites, leading to a cross-analysis of different Iron Age societies. In addition, the valley is a rich study framework, due to different geographical contexts linked by a single entity: the river, a strategic penetration channel between sea and mountains, making it a key element in human settlement dynamics. Thus, the valley is a landscape unit that can supply many research topics concerning human/environment relationship, waterway evolution and its impact on human societies and their activities, and on planning related to fluvial risk.

NOTES

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¹ Berger et al. 2010, 29.

² Scrinzi 2013, 272-273; 2014.

³ Favory/Van der Leeuw 1998, 257-298; Van der Leeuw et al. 2003.

⁴ Scrinzi 2014; 2015.

⁵ Van der Leeuw et al. 2003; Mauné 1998; Bertoncello 1999.

⁶ Barker 1995.

⁷ Lock/Faustoferri 2008; Coarelli/Patterson 2008; Vermeulen 2012, 43-54.

⁸ Braudel 1990, 7-28.

⁹ Garcia 2014.

¹⁰ Garcia 1993; Trément 1999; Nuninger 2002; Bagan 2007; Bel/Daveau 2008; Vial 2011; Leroy/Dellong 2012; Gailledrat 2014; Ropiot 2015.

¹¹ Favory et al. 1994; Nuninger 2002; Van der Leeuw et al. 2003; Ouriachi 2009.

¹² Py 1990, 43-44; 2012, 101-103.

¹³ Dedet/Pène 1995, 91.

¹⁴ Guthertz/Py 1976, 191-201; Dedet et al. 1985, 52-66.

¹⁵ Py 2012, 100.

¹⁶ Vial 2011, 125-127.

¹⁷ Vial 2011, 100; Py 2012, 113.

¹⁸ Bats 1992, 277.

¹⁹ Dedet 1999, 69.

²⁰ Bagan 2007, 24.

²¹ Lebeaupin/Séjalon 2008, 58.

²² Roure 2011, 333-341.

²³ Py 2012, 113.

²⁴ Vial 2011, 102; Py 2012, 114.

²⁵ Vial, 2011.

²⁶ Lebeaupin/Séjalon 2008, 63.

²⁷ Vial 2011, 102.

²⁸ Fiches/Mathieu 2002, 528.

²⁹ Vial 2011, 85-87.

³⁰ Bats 1992, 277.

- 31 Vial 2011, 106-107.
 32 Py 2012, 199-200.
 33 Fiches/Mathieu 2002, 529.
 34 Py 2012, 245.
 35 Py 2012, 202.
 36 Roman 1997, 339.
 37 Scrinzi 2014, 347; 2016.
 38 Vial 2011, 97.
 39 Van der Leeuw et al. 2003, 301; Vial 2011, 91.
 40 Favory et al. 1994, 174.
 41 Mauné 2001, 81-93; Trément 1999, 146.
 42 Favory 1997, 114.
 43 Fovet 2010, 246.
 44 Scrinzi 2014, 142-144.
 45 Poux 2004, 96.
 46 Barberan 2013, 259-263.
 47 Jung 2007; Monteil et al. 1999, 67-123.
 48 Mauné 2013, 335-375.
 49 Scrinzi 2014, 331-395.
 50 Attema/De Haas/Tol 2010, 55.
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Interazioni e mutamenti tra la prima e la seconda età del Ferro nella Sardegna centrale

Jeremy Mark Hayne

Abstract

*After the flowering of the Nuragic culture in the early Iron Age the island of Sardinia seems to lose its Nuragic identity with the progress of the 1st millennium BC; it is generally considered that at the end of the early Iron Age the Nuragic culture undergoes some form of crisis. Whilst it is agreed that important changes took place in the local Nuragic communities during the first centuries of the first millennium, a reading is proposed here according to which not enough attention has been paid to the continuity of local practices in the subsequent later Iron Age. Using central/north Sardinia as an example this paper examines the evidence of continuity, highlighting the continuous contact in the subsequent later Iron Age between local communities and the Greek and Etruscan ones. Although changes did take place at the end of the early Iron Age, it is stressed that the cultural identities and traditions continued to the late-1st millennium BC, with real change only registering during the Roman Imperial period. For this reason the traditional periodization is not very appropriate when talking about the local Sardinian communities.**

INTRODUZIONE

Cronologia della Sardegna 'nuragica'

L'articolazione cronologica del Bronzo finale e del primo Ferro della Sardegna è oggetto di vivaci discussioni tra gli studiosi e le recenti proposte di periodizzazione appaiono in effetti caratterizzate da un certo grado di soggettività.¹ Alcuni studiosi delineano una cronologia che ingloba il Bronzo finale e il primo Ferro (d'ora in poi BF e PF) con una distinzione in tre fasi, BF1/2/3, attribuendo in tal modo scarsa importanza all'età del Ferro. Altri, invece, avvalendosi di una datazione incrociata con i materiali fenici, etruschi e greci, forniscono un inquadramento dell'età del Ferro nuragica troppo strettamente legato alle varie microfasi dell'età del Ferro italica (primo Ferro 1 A, 1 B, 2 A, 2B; vedi *Tabella 1*). L'uso della seriazione per dividere le diverse fasi del Ferro è sicuramente molto utile, ma non è sempre possibile operare distinzioni così sottili per la Sardegna, soprattutto perché la situazione varia molto da contesto a contesto. Ne è un esempio la cosiddetta ceramica geometrica, la cui comparsa viene spesso utilizzata per identificare l'inizio dell'età del Ferro e di conseguenza per segnare la differenza tra il Bronzo e il Ferro, ma che costituisce invece secondo alcuni un tipo di decorazione dell'età del Bronzo.² Un punto nodale per la datazione assoluta del Ferro in Sardegna, poi, è rappresentato dal contesto di distruzione

dell'Ausonio II a Lipari, contesto che ha restituito anche materiali sardi.³ La distruzione degli insediamenti dell'Ausonio II è datata in maniera piuttosto convincente all'850 a.C. da Madeline Cavalier (282), mentre Anna Depalmas sostiene che tra i materiali sardi del livello di distruzione, riferibili principalmente al Bronzo finale, ve ne siano anche di databili al primo Ferro (294). Si tratta di datazioni sicuramente più tarde rispetto a quanto recentemente affermato da altri studiosi che ritengono che il primo Ferro in Italia abbia avuto inizio intorno al 950 a.C., come sarebbe suggerito dall'evidenza di Torre Galli in Calabria e di altri luoghi.⁴

Mi sembra dunque difficile datare le diverse epoche in Sardegna sulla base di una seriazione della ceramica nuragica e ritengo anche che le fasi BF3 e PF1, spesso proposte congiuntamente come un'unica fase, dovrebbero essere distinte. Il PF1, inoltre, dovrebbe essere presentato come l'inizio di una nuova epoca in Sardegna. In caso contrario, infatti, si pone il problema di stabilire quali criteri consentano di separare il BF1 e 2 dal BF3/PF1.⁵ La differenza tra i diversi periodi non può infatti essere basata unicamente sui cambiamenti morfologici dei materiali ma deve anche riflettere i cambiamenti che interessano la società. Appare quindi più opportuno vedere la parte iniziale dell'età del Ferro come il primo stadio di una lunga transizione che, sebbene non si sia sicuramente svolta nello stesso modo in tutta l'isola, ha certamente riguardato non solo la cera-

Tabella 1. Cronologia dell'età del Bronzo e del Ferro.

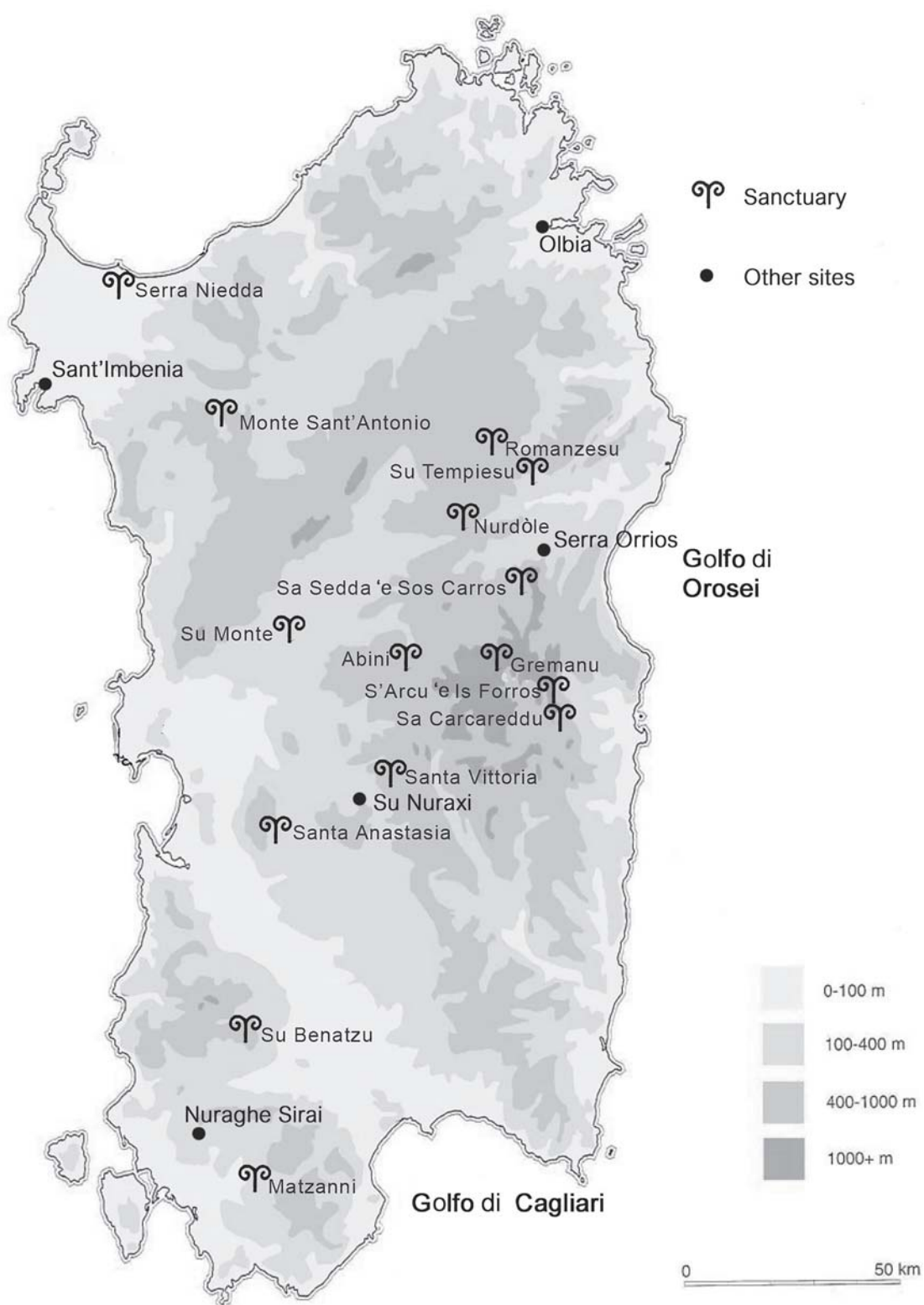
Età	Cronologia a.C.			Periodi Classici	Proposta di suddivisione in due fasi
Bronzo	(Lo Schiavo 2002; Campus/Leonelli 2006)				
Bronzo recente 1	1330				
Bronzo recente 2	1270				
Bronzo finale 1	1190				
Bronzo finale 2	1100				
Bronzo finale 3	1000				
Ferro in Italia	Cronologia tradizionale	Cronologie revisionate			
	Ridgway 2004	Peroni/Vanzetti (2005)	Pacciarelli (2005)		
Prima età del Ferro 1A	900	977/945	950	Villanoviano (950-720)	Fase 1 (Sardegna nuragica/Villanoviano)
Prima età del Ferro 1B	850	920			
Prima età del Ferro 2A	800	870	850/825		
Prima età del Ferro 2B	750	834			Fase 2 (Sardi/Etruschi/Fenici)
Seconda età del Ferro	700	720	730	Orientalizzante (720-580)	
Terzo Ferro	625			Arcaico (580-480)	

mica ma tutta una serie di riformulazioni e cambiamenti sociali che si sono a loro volta rispecchiati nell'architettura e nella vita quotidiana ed economica della popolazione. I dati incrociati ci aiutano sicuramente a comprendere tali cambiamenti e l'evidenza bilaterale concernente il contatto verificatosi nel IX secolo a.C. tra la penisola italiana e la Sardegna sembra suggerire che le nuove tecnologie (per es. la tecnica della cera persa) si siano diffuse nell'isola all'inizio del primo Ferro. In sintesi, per evitare una suddivisione troppo sottile in microfasi e in parziale accordo con alcuni studiosi (Ialongo, Pacciarelli), pur basandomi sulle datazioni incrociate, per la zona della Sardegna di cui tratterò, preferisco distinguere l'età del Ferro in due fasi di maggior durata, che vanno all'incirca rispettivamente dal 950 al 730 a.C. e dal 730 al 400 a.C. (*tab. 1*). Ciò non implica, naturalmente, che Fenici, Etruschi e Greci siano necessariamente giunti nei territori sardi, ma solo che i loro manufatti circolassero nel Mediterraneo, come esito della mutata organizzazione e connettività transmediterranea.

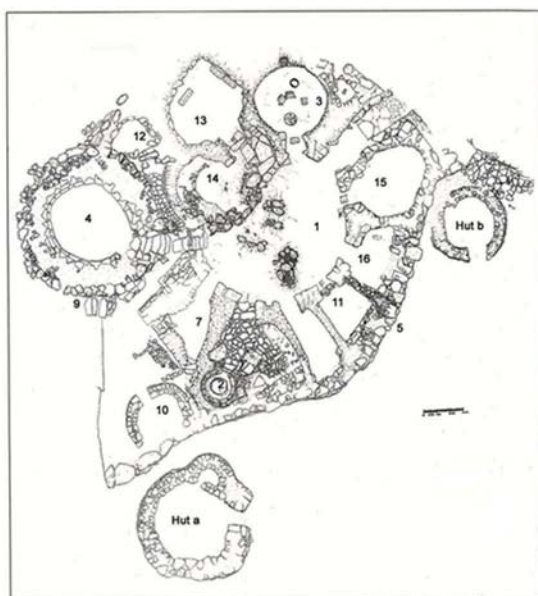
Il contesto

La civiltà nuragica ha inizio nel Bronzo medio e continua fino all'età del Ferro, perdurando fino

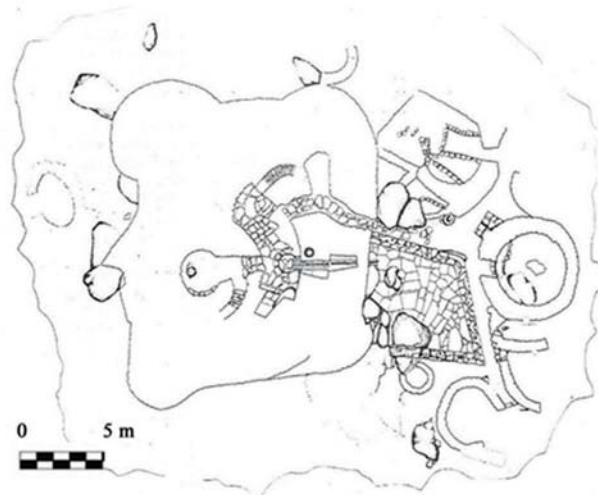
all'inizio dell'epoca romana.⁶ Il Bronzo recente è ben conosciuto per gli edifici monumentali, i nuraghi, le tombe di giganti, i templi a pozzo e la progredita metallurgia del bronzo. L'avvento del Bronzo finale segna l'inizio di un periodo - il Bronzo finale III/primo Ferro I - che sulla base della sua cultura materiale non può essere distinto facilmente in ulteriori fasi ma che comunque segna dei cambiamenti nella società sarda.⁷ Generalmente gli studiosi concordano sul fatto che verso il 950 a.C. abbiano avuto luogo cambiamenti nella struttura sociale, evidenziati dalla costruzione di grandi villaggi costituiti da abitazioni raggruppate intorno a un cortile (anziché da case singole), la cui presenza suggerisce una focalizzazione sull'ordine collettivo e una pianificazione dello spazio sconosciute in precedenza. Allo stesso modo, la costruzione delle cosiddette *piazze*, che diventano luoghi di incontro e commercio, testimonia l'esistenza di sistemi di pianificazione che per alcuni sarebbero indice del carattere urbano degli insediamenti.⁸ Esempi ne sono Sant'Imbenia, sulla costa nord-occidentale, e alcuni siti dell'entroterra, come Sa Sedda 'e sos Carros, Su Nuraxi, S'Arcu 'e is Forros, Serra Orrios e Abini (*mappa 1*), che raggiungono il loro apogeo nel primo Ferro).⁹ Nello stesso periodo si assiste anche all'emergere di importanti santuari gene-



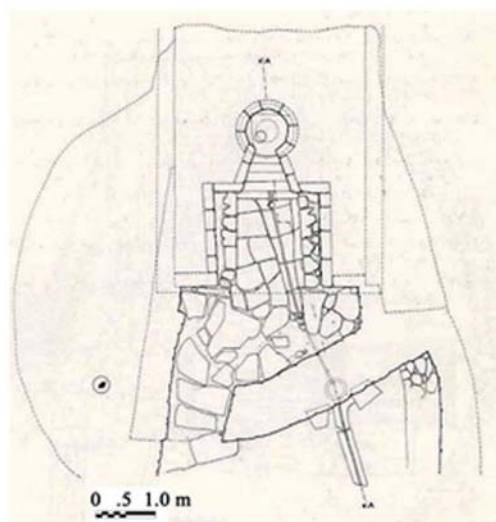
Mapa 1. Mapa dei siti menzionati nel testo del secondo Ferro (elaborazione grafica dell'autore).



1



2



3



4

Fig. 1. Santuari nuragici: 1. Sa Sedda 'e sos Carros (Fadda 2008, 134, fig. 1). 2. Nurdòle (Fadda 1990, 309, fig. 1). 3. Su Tempiesu (Fadda/Lo Schiavo 1992, 41, tav. 1). 4. S'Arcu 'e is Forros (Google Earth, elaborazione dell'autore).

ralmente dotati di edifici monumentali, un fatto che indica il verificarsi di mutamenti nell'organizzazione del territorio. Questi santuari furono spesso eretti su siti preesistenti, dove sorgevano templi a pozzo o anche, a volte, nuraghi (fig. 1). Un altro aspetto caratteristico del PF è rappresen-

tato dall'introduzione di nuovi tipi di ceramica, tra cui brocche askoidi (fig. 2.1/2) e vasi con disegni geometrici e cerchielli (fig. 2.5.),¹¹ figurine miniaturistiche (fig. 2.4) e ornamenti in bronzo.



Fig. 2. Materiali locali e allogeni dai santuari nuragici: 1 e 2. Brocche askoidi - Su Monte (Sorradile), Nurdòle (Orani) (1. foto dell'autore, 2. Minoja et al. 2015, 472). 3. Fibule a sanguisuga (foto dell'autore, Museo archeologico - Nuoro). 4. Statuetta in Bronzo - Abini (Demontis 2005, 115). 5. Ceramica del Ferro - Sa Sedda 'e sos Carros (Salis 2008, 181, fig. 19). 6. Ripostiglio no. 1, S'Arcu 'e is Forros (Fadda 2012, 56, fig. 72). 7. Brocca in bronzo - Sa Sedda 'e sos Carros (foto dell'autore, Museo Archeologico - Nuoro). 8. Oinochoe etrusca (S'Arcu 'e is Forros (foto dell'autore, Museo Archeologico - Nuoro).

Nei santuari nuragici dell'età del Ferro della Sardegna (*mappa 1*) si trovano spesso materiali allo-ge-ni (fibule villanoviane o ceramica fenicia). Si tratta tuttavia di siti che erano essenzialmente espressione dello spirito comunitario delle popolazioni sarde. Essi avevano la funzione di rag-gruppare i membri provenienti da comunità dif-ferenti unendone i rituali, ma erano anche utilizzati come depositi di oggetti di bronzo, spesso di carat-tere votivo, come nel caso delle molte figurine scoperte ad Abini e Nurdòle. Purtroppo, benché i bronzi ritrovati nel nuraghe di Nurdòle ammontino a 'diverse migliaia di pezzi'¹¹ sono stati pub-blicati solo pochi oggetti.

La crescita e la maggiore articolazione degli spazi dei santuari dell'età del Ferro e l'importan-za dei villaggi all'interno dei quali sorgevano sembrano indicare l'aumentata complessità dell'or-ganizzazione sociale. Tuttavia questa complessità non trovava riscontro nelle tombe. Diversamente dalle coeve comunità villanoviane della penisola italiana, presso le quali la ricchezza era esibita in tombe sempre più ricche, in Sardegna vi erano solo poche tombe individuali (Bernardini 2011) e la ricchezza era indirizzata alla collettività, venendo collocata nei santuari, probabilmente gestiti dai gruppi delle *élites*.

La maggior parte di questi santuari si sviluppò all'inizio del primo Ferro e venne edificata a par-tire da preesistenti strutture del tardo Bronzo.

Tabella 2. Cronologia dei santuari nuragici.

Sito	Ultimo periodo d'uso	Materiali per la datazione
Monte Sant'Antonio	Primo Ferro 1	Red slip
Sa Sedda 'e sos Carros	Secondo Ferro	Fibule a sanguisuga
S'Arcu 'e is Forros	Secondo Ferro	Oinochoe, fibule a sanguisuga
Nurdòle	IV secolo a.C.	Leoncino etrusco in bronzo (VI secolo), monete puniche, vernice nera
Romanzesu	Primo Ferro 1	Fibule a sanguisuga
Su Tempiesu	Primo Ferro 1	Fibule ad arco
Santa Vittoria	Secondo Ferro e dopo	Materiali punici
Su Monte	Secondo Ferro	Leoncino etrusco in bronzo
Gremanu	Primo Ferro	
Sa Carcaredda	Primo Ferro	

Purtroppo molti di essi sono stati editi solo in maniera parziale ed è quindi difficile determi-narne con certezza la cronologia. La loro data-zione dipende in larga misura da un sistema di datazioni incrociate con i contesti villanoviani, etruschi e greci della penisola italiana. La mag-gior parte dei siti, in ogni caso, cessa di esistere alla fine del primo Ferro (730 a.C. ca.). Alcuni santuari, tuttavia, continuano a essere utilizzati, e a Nurdòle o S'Arcu 'e is Forros si registra anche una prosecuzione delle pratiche sociali che ave-vano contraddistinto la vita dei santuari nel primo Ferro. Entrambi questi siti mostrano una continuità di vita che giunge oltre il VII secolo, ossia fino al periodo orientalizzante (secondo Ferro, 730 a.C. ca. - vedi *tab. 1*) e oltre (*tab. 2*).

CAMBIAMENTI NELLA SOCIETÀ SARDA DURANTE L'ETÀ DEL FERRO

Nurdòle

Se ci focalizziamo sui siti di Nurdòle, sa Sedda 'e sos Carros e S'Arcu 'e is Forros, si può vedere come la continuità delle pratiche nuragiche si esprima in modo differente. Nurdòle era un nuraghe che nel Bronzo finale/primo Ferro fu modificato con la chiusura della torre e la costruzione di una grande vasca rituale (*fig. 1.2*).¹² Data la grande quantità di offerte distribuite lungo il corridoio di ingresso e vicino alla vasca lustrale, sembra essere stato un santuario dove la comunità mostrava la propria aderenza a un rito e/o una credenza collettiva tra-mite la deposizione di offerte.

S'Arcu 'e is Forros e Sa Sedda 'e sos Carros

Il santuario di S'Arcu non sembra essere caratte-rizzato dalla stessa ritualità di quello di Nurdòle. Non vi è alcun pozzo o vasca lustrale, ma ci sono tre cosiddetti templi 'a megaron', come quelli presenti in altri siti (per es. a Romanzesu e a Serra Orrios). Qui, come anche a Sa Sedda, la grande quantità di oggetti di bronzo e di ferro scoperti nei diversi ripostigli sembra rivestire un signifi-cato differente rispetto a Nurdòle dove gli oggetti di bronzo erano perlopiù depositati come oggetti votivi. Molti di questi oggetti erano rotti o allo stato frammentario. Anziché trovarci in presenza di depositi votivi, sembra perciò più verosimile che il metallo qui accumulato fosse riciclato per creare altri oggetti, forse di uso quotidiano o destinato ad altri siti (*fig. 2.6*).¹³

L'accumulo di oggetti di bronzo nei santuari o nei ripostigli costituiva uno dei modi di usufruire

del metallo disponibile. Tale accumulo, come sottolinea Richard Bradley,¹⁴ creava una tensione all'interno della società tra l'uso quotidiano del metallo e il suo uso rituale, perché rimuoveva dalla circolazione materiali potenzialmente utili, come spade, pugnali o asce, o comunque immobilizzava grandi quantità di metallo. Anche nella Sardegna nuragica la massiccia presenza di bronzo nei santuari può aver condotto all'instaurarsi di un conflitto tra l'importanza accordata al rituale ed esigenze di carattere più pratico. In santuari come quelli di Sa Sedda e S'Arcu, tuttavia, il riciclaggio divenne sempre più importante nel corso dell'età del Ferro. Quello che è certo, in ogni caso, è che anche nella seconda età del Ferro il bronzo continuò a rivestire una grande importanza per le comunità locali, come testimonia il ritrovamento di frammenti di bronzi etruschi nei siti indigeni e non in quelli fenici dell'isola.¹⁵

La recente scoperta di ben tre ripostigli a S'Arcu e is Forros getta luce sulla continuità della pratica del riciclo del bronzo, visto che le due brocche di probabile manifattura etrusca, rinvenute insieme ad altri materiali alloigeni e indigeni (figg. 1.4, 2.6/2.8; fibule a sanguisuga, barchette di bronzo) in uno di tali ripostigli, sono databili rispettivamente al VII e al VI secolo a.C., ossia a un momento piuttosto avanzato del periodo orientalizzante. Il sito, che era stato un santuario incentrato su due (o forse tre) templi a megaron durante il Bronzo finale, subì diverse modifiche nel corso della sua lunga esistenza. Nell'età del Ferro sembra avere svolto la funzione di centro per la lavorazione del metallo, come evidenzia anche la presenza di due fornaci collocate al suo interno.¹⁶ Anche il tempio a megaron B sembra essere stato trasformato o almeno destinato a un uso differente, poiché un angolo era stato adibito all'uso di fornace.¹⁷ Un analogo cambiamento d'uso sarebbe ravvisabile anche nel santuario di Sa Sedda 'e sos Carros tra il tardo primo Ferro e il periodo orientalizzante, dati l'assenza di chiare evidenze che attestino lo svolgimento di pratiche rituali e il ritrovamento di una grande quantità di metallo destinato al riciclo. La capanna B, inoltre, risulta costruita con blocchi che in precedenza erano usati per la collocazione di offerte di bronzi.¹⁸

Questa perdita di ruolo e il crescente accumulo di metallo per il riciclo suggeriscono che nella tarda età del Ferro i santuari non avessero più la funzione di riunire le diverse comunità della zona per la partecipazione ai vari rituali, ma che fossero destinati a un utilizzo legato più al consumo e allo scambio. È possibile che questa frattura determinatasi nell'ambito delle pratiche

sociali delle comunità sarde sia rispecchiata dalla presenza di oggetti di importazione nei siti della Sardegna centrale nel secondo Ferro.

IL SECONDO FERRO

In tale periodo i santuari di Romanzesu e Su Tempiesu non esistevano già più, mentre gli altri centri rituali sembrano andare incontro a un cambiamento d'uso e in effetti non hanno restituito che pochi materiali d'importazione. Ma prendiamo in esame altri siti della Sardegna centrale (mappa 2).

Dopo il VII secolo a.C. in Sardegna si registra un netto cambiamento nella cultura materiale dei siti nuragici, concomitante alla crescita della presenza e degli insediamenti fenici. Vale la pena di ricordare a questo proposito il sito di Nuraghe Sirai (Carbonia), dove il crescente numero di manufatti fenici presenti nella zona esterna (capanna 2) rispecchia l'intensificarsi dei contatti con i Fenici tra la seconda metà del VII e il VI secolo.¹⁹ Più a nord, nel sito di Olbia, il ritrovamento di anfore greche (Corinzia A, Ionica, Attica SOS) e coppe ioniche sembra indicare la probabile esistenza di un emporio greco.²⁰ Nel centro della Sardegna la



Mappa 2. Mappa dei siti della Sardegna centrale (elaborazione grafica dell'autore).

continuità di vita e l'interazione con l'elemento alloctono appaiono documentati negli abitati anziché nei santuari (siti come Sa Turre, Sirilò, Soroeni e Santo Stefano - l'attuale Irgoli - possono essere infatti considerati villaggi). Altri ritrovamenti sono stati effettuati a Posada e Luthuthai, siti situati vicino alla costa, lungo le vie fluviali, vie la cui presenza facilitava il contatto con gli stranieri che raggiungevano la Sardegna via mare (*mappa 2*). La maggior parte dei frammenti rinvenuti sono riferibili a ceramiche da mensa (vasi in bucchero, *kantharoi*, *kylikes* e *skyphoi*), mentre anfore e altri contenitori per il trasporto sono stati ritrovati raramente e per lo più in mare (*tab. 3, fig. 3.8*).²¹

SCAMBIO E COMMERCIO NEL SECONDO FERRO

Consumo del vino?

I materiali allocteni trovati nei siti sardi dovevano certamente rivestire un ruolo importante per le popolazioni indigene, che però probabilmente attribuivano a tali oggetti un significato diverso da quello originario. In effetti, sebbene il vasellame rinvenuto fosse principalmente utilizzato per bere vino nei contesti di provenienza, ciò non dimostra necessariamente che anche i Sardi bevessero vino.

È pur vero, però, che le ricerche compiute nel villaggio di Sant'Imbenia e a Cartagine dimostrano come tra la metà dell'VIII secolo e l'inizio del VII in certe zone della Sardegna nuragica vi fosse una forte spinta all'esportazione di merci

Tabella 3. Materiali d'importazione, VII-V secolo a.C., Sardegna centrale.

Sito	Materiali e dati	Referenza bibliografica
Sa Turre (Orani)	Bucchero sottile (<i>kantharos</i> ?); anfore etrusche, metà VII-inizio VI a.C.	Tore/Corda 1990
Sirilò (Orgosolo)	<i>Skyphos</i> attico a figure rosse; bucchero, <i>kantharos</i> ; Ceramica punica, VI-V secolo a.C.	Fadda 2008
Soroeni (Lodine)	Bucchero; askos ad anatra etrusco; ceramica fenicia e punica, metà VII-VI secolo	Cidu 2008; Mele 2016
Nurdòle (Orune)	Bucchero <i>oinochoe</i> (tipo Rasmussen 7, prima metà del VI secolo); <i>Applique</i> a forma di leoncino, fine VI secolo ; ansa bronza (etrusca?), V secolo ; fibula a sanguisuga (Orientalizzante); <i>lekythos</i> attico, V secolo	Madau 1997
Posada	Anfora di tipo Ramon T.3.1.1.2., fine VIII-metà VII secolo ; coppa carenata 'red-slip' fenicia, VII secolo ; bucchero, 'small stemmed bowl' di tipo Rasmussen 1, prima metà VI secolo , <i>kylix</i> ionica (<i>mancante</i>)	Sanciu 2010, 6-7 figg.9, 10 D'Oriano 1985, 240 nota 50; Rasmussen 1979, 126 D'Oriano 1985, 240 nota 50; Gras 1981, 94 nota 19
Siniscola (grotta Duos Vaccas)	Coppa? apula a figure rosse (Pittore dell'ipogeo Varrese?); metà IV secolo Ansa di <i>kantharos</i> etrusco, primo quarto VI secolo <i>Kylix</i> attica a figure nere, seconda metà VI secolo	D'Oriano 1985, 229-34 D'Oriano 1999, 99 D'Oriano 1999, 99
Irgoli (Antiquarium comunale)	Bucchero, ansa di <i>kantharos</i> , fine VII-metà VI secolo ; Orlo di <i>kylix</i> (Attica C), fine VI - primo V secolo	Sanciu 2010:9
Irgoli (Luthuthai)	Anfora ionica (samia?), inizio VI secolo	Dupont 1998, 164-169; Sanciu 2010, 8
Sos Sirios (grotta)	Anfora massaliota, metà VI secolo	Manunza 1995, 197
Bau Nuraxi (Trieri)	Frammento di orlo in bronzo; frammento di orlo perlato in bronzo	Sanges 2002, 482-3
Nuraghe Adoni (Villanovatulo)	Frammento di ansa di <i>oinochoe</i> etrusca, fine VI secolo	Sanges 2002, 489-90
mare dell'Ogliastra	2 coppe ioniche B2, inizi VI-fine VI secolo	Cook/Dupont 1998, 129-131; Sanciu 2010, 9
	Anfore etrusche: Py 3A, fine VII-metà VI secolo ; 2 Py 4A, metà V-metà III secolo	Sanciu 2012
	2 anfore ioniche, seconda metà del VI secolo	Sanciu 2012
	Anfora greco-italica MSG V	Secci 2012



Fig. 3. Materiali di importazione del secondo Ferro nello Sardegna centrale: 1. Kylix ionica - mare dell'Ogliastra (Sanciu 2010, 10, fig. 25). 2. Ceramica attica a figure rosse - Sirilò (foto dell'autore, Museo Archeologico - Nuoro); 3. 'Small Stemmed bowl' in bucchero - Posada (D'Oriano 1999, 99; 4-6). 4. Ansa, kantharos - Irgoli 5. Anfora ionica - Luthluthai (Sanciu 2010, 8, fig. 19). 6. Kylix - Irgoli (Sanciu 2010, 9, fig. 24). 7. Askos - Soroeni (foto dell'autore, Museo Archeologico - Nuoro). 8. Anfora etrusca Py 4A - mare dell'Ogliastra (Sanciu 2012, 181, fig. 12.).

verso Cartagine. E in effetti quasi la metà delle anfore rinvenute a Cartagine databili a questo periodo risultano provenire proprio dalla Sardegna nuragica.²² Secondo Bechtold e Docter gli abitanti di Cartagine, un insediamento di nuova fondazione, dovettero importare derrate alimentari finché non furono in grado di acquisire il controllo della zona circostante, divenendo in tal modo autosufficienti. Secondo loro ciò si sarebbe verificato solo nel VII secolo a.C. (Bechtold/Docter 2010, 91), ossia nello stesso periodo in cui si manifestarono i summenzionati cambiamenti nell'ambito dei siti nuragici. Tuttavia questo resta un fatto da verificare, anche perché nei siti nuragici non si registra una corrispondente importazione

di anfore - cosa che implicherebbe uno scambio di tipo commerciale -, ma piuttosto un'importazione solo di vasellame da mensa (piatti e tazze: de Rosa 2013, 17). Una simile asimmetria, in realtà, non si riscontra esclusivamente nel primo Ferro, ma già a partire dal Bronzo recente, come accennerò in seguito. Nel VII e nel VI secolo, inoltre, la presenza di anfore etrusche e greche in Sardegna appare limitata.²³ Per quanto riguarda le anfore etrusche, per esempio, ne sono stati rinvenuti solo circa 20 esemplari in tutta l'isola.²⁴ Può ben essere che la Sardegna si trovasse al secondo posto nel Mediterraneo, dopo la Francia meridionale, per le importazioni dall'Etruria (Santocchini Gerg, cds), ma la differenza è considerevole se

pensiamo alle migliaia di anfore etrusche e, più tardi, massaliote importate nei centri coloniali della Francia. La differenza, tuttavia, è evidente soprattutto nel consumo: in Francia la maggior parte dei siti come Massalia erano siti coloniali e non indigeni, così come il vino importato nelle anfore era consumato da una popolazione mista e non esclusivamente da quella indigena, mentre in Sardegna parliamo principalmente dei siti indigeni.²⁵

Un aspetto importante del commercio e del consumo è rappresentato dai desideri dei consumatori. Nella Sardegna nuragica sembra altamente probabile che all'importazione del vino in sé non fosse attribuita molta importanza; in effetti, esistevano già bevande locali e il loro utilizzo rifletteva modelli di consumo locale. Ciò trova confronto nei costumi di altri popoli indigeni del mondo mediterraneo. In Francia, per esempio, è stato calcolato che il vino importato a Lattara contribuisse solo al 20% circa del consumo totale di alcool degli abitanti nel IV secolo a.C.²⁶

Mutamenti nel sistema di valori

Due punti meritano di essere sottolineati. Innanzitutto, se nella prima età del Ferro gli scambi e i contatti tra Sardi ed Etruschi erano gestiti dalle élites locali (forse attraverso i sacerdoti che controllavano i santuari), nella seconda età del Ferro questo tipo di scambi mutò con il cambiare delle strutture sociali delle popolazioni del Mediterraneo. Nel VII e soprattutto nel VI secolo a.C. la crescita dei centri urbani in Etruria e la costituzione di empori cosmopoliti lungo la costa tirrenica contribuirono a innescare quei cambiamenti sociali che avrebbero determinato la sostituzione degli scambi personali tra élites con attività che definiremmo più simili al commercio.²⁷ Il commercio nel Mediterraneo sarebbe stato allora gestito da mercanti individuali specializzati che, in cerca di guadagni, indirizzavano le merci verso mercati conosciuti²⁸ anziché dalle élites della prima età del Ferro. I relitti ritrovati nel Mediterraneo dimostrano che le navi viaggiavano con un carico di merci abbastanza omogeneo: si trasportavano soprattutto vasellame patorio e anfore, ma la scelta delle merci era comunque legata alla richiesta dei consumatori.²⁹ In Sardegna, tuttavia, nonostante il sistema di scambi tra le élites stesse mutando, la mancanza di vasi da trasporto nei siti nuragici sembra indicare che la popolazione non fosse particolarmente interessata al vino in sé.

L'incremento del traffico internazionale di vino e il mutare delle modalità di scambio comportò un

cambiamento delle relazioni tra le diverse popolazioni presenti nel Mediterraneo occidentale. In questa situazione i *kantharoi* e gli altri vasi patori, simboli di interazione presso le élites etrusche della prima età del Ferro, acquisirono una connotazione differente, più strettamente legata al commercio: in linea con i cambiamenti avvenuti nell'ambito del commercio nel VII e nel VI secolo a.C., tali recipienti assunsero un valore transazionale più che di prestigio personale (Riva 2010, 221-223). Nel mondo nuragico della Sardegna centro-settentrionale il cambiamento in atto nel mondo mediterraneo sembra manifestarsi nei villaggi anziché nei grandi santuari, indicando che qui l'interazione con l'elemento alloctono aveva luogo essenzialmente negli insediamenti.

A Sirilò, un villaggio nel centro della Sardegna, per esempio, la funzione transazionale delle coppe e dei *kantharoi* potrebbe aver facilitato l'interazione tra gli individui coinvolti nel nuovo regime di scambi. In effetti, il sito di Sirilò può essere considerato esemplificativo di questo cambiamento. Qui l'edificio cultuale del Bronzo/ primo Ferro sembra essere stato abbandonato, mentre nel VII/VI secolo a.C. l'area residenziale, dove sono stati rinvenuti materiali nuragici, etruschi e greci, sembra conoscere un certo sviluppo (fig. 3.2).³⁰ L'abbandono dell'edificio cultuale e la crescita dell'abitato possono essere la spia dei cambiamenti avvenuti nell'ambito della società locale nel secondo quarto del primo millennio a.C.: non si ha un'interruzione nella vita dell'abitato, ma i valori propri della comunità nel primo Ferro mutano. Allo stesso modo, non vanno dimenticati siti quali S'Arcu 'e is Forros e Nurdòle, che continuano ad avere un ruolo importante di aggregazione e ritualità per un tempo più lungo, fatto che indica che i vecchi valori non erano stati completamente dimenticati.

Una questione di grande importanza è rappresentata dai tipi di scambi che si svolgevano tra la Sardegna e il Mediterraneo nel Bronzo finale e nel Ferro. Nel Bronzo finale c'è un'intensificazione di contatti tra la Sardegna e Cipro, dimostrato sia dal modesto incremento di materiali ciprioti o di origine cipriota ritrovati in Sardegna³¹ sia dagli altri elementi della cultura materiale che collegano le due isole, sebbene materiali sardi siano quasi del tutto assenti a Cipro.³² Nel primo Ferro, invece, il principale partner era costituito dall'area villanoviana, che intratteneva rapporti soprattutto con la zona nord-orientale dell'isola.³³ Tuttavia, i dati archeologici relativi agli oggetti o alle materie prime che erano oggetto di scambio appaiono carenti.

Nel BF il legame tra Cipro e la Sardegna porta gli abitanti di quest'ultima ad acquisire precocemente avanzate conoscenze metallurgiche, come ad esempio la fusione a cera persa i cui meravigliosi risultati conosciamo attraverso i bronzetti figurati, le spade e le asce. Probabilmente era a queste conoscenze che i Villanoviani erano interessati quando, nel primo Ferro, entrarono in contatto con le popolazioni sarde e iniziarono a sfruttare i giacimenti metalliferi dell'area tirrenica.³⁴ Evidenza di tali contatti si riscontra nel tipo di materiali sardi ritrovati nelle tombe villanoviane. Essa consiste principalmente in oggetti di uso personale (bronzetti, 'bottoni' o contenitori tipo brocche askoidi), che avevano un'importanza intrinseca per i Sardi del primo Ferro. Anche nel Bronzo recente la presenza di ceramiche di manifattura sarda rinvenute al di fuori dell'isola non sembra essere legata al commercio: si trattava più probabilmente di oggetti di uso personale che appartenevano ai navigatori sardi, come per esempio il vaso a collo trovato nel sito di Pyla-Kokkinokremos a Cipro.³⁵

Il secondo punto che vorrei sottolineare prende spunto dal relitto scoperto a Rochelongue,³⁶ vicino ad Agde-Francia, databile al VI secolo a.C., che sembra indicare come l'importanza del commercio stesse cambiando i valori tradizionali. Questa nave trasportava circa 800 kg di rame e oggetti di bronzo. Un simile quantitativo può probabilmente essere considerato indicativo dei cambiamenti che si stavano verificando nel mercato mediterraneo e che sono rispecchiati da quelli che avevano luogo anche all'interno della società sarda, dove i vecchi valori del Bronzo/primo Ferro stavano mutando. I mercanti individuali facevano incetta di materiali metallici da scambiare con altre merci, come per esempio il vino in Francia. Non è forse un caso che i ripostigli della Linguadoca comincino a rarefarsi proprio a partire dal VII secolo a.C., probabilmente in risposta alle richieste dei mercanti.³⁷ Un simile cambiamento nel consumo di metallo nel Mediterraneo non avrebbe mancato di manifestare i propri effetti sulla società sarda, che non solo attribuiva un valore specifico al metallo, ma che anche basava la propria prosperità proprio sulla lavorazione e sull'accumulazione di questo materiale. Le comunità sarde sarebbero state infatti spinte a esportare il metallo anziché a tesaurizzarlo nei ripostigli, per poterlo scambiare con altre merci. Il mutare delle richieste dei partner commerciali, dunque, avrebbe avuto ripercussioni profonde sulla società sarda.

CONCLUSIONI

La maggior parte dei santuari nuragici si trova nella Sardegna centro-settentrionale (*mappa 1*), sugli altopiani interni. Benché si trattasse di siti indigeni, essi offrivano la possibilità di effettuare scambi e intrattenere contatti con le altre popolazioni. Funzionavano inoltre come luoghi per la lavorazione del metallo, un procedimento appreso grazie al contatto con le popolazioni cipriote nel Bronzo recente e finale e che aveva permesso agli indigeni di sviluppare quelle avanzate conoscenze metallurgiche molto richieste da civiltà emergenti quali quella villanoviana all'inizio dell'età Ferro. Esito di tali rapporti fu la crescente importanza assunta dai santuari durante il primo Ferro. Durante il secondo Ferro, invece, i cambiamenti avuti nella natura degli scambi nel Mediterraneo e nei contatti tra le élites in direzione di un'interazione basata sul commercio ebbero un effetto opposto sulla società sarda: i grandi santuari perdettero il loro potere e la loro importanza, mentre i villaggi (sugli altopiani interni), che non avevano certo cessato di esistere, ebbero maggiori possibilità di entrare in contatto con i mercanti, possibilmente anche tramite commercianti indigeni che si spostavano tra la costa e la montagna, e che solcavano i mari del Mediterraneo intorno alla metà del primo millennio a.C.

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¹ Per esempio i recenti Ugas, 2000 per l'età del Ferro e Depalmas, 2009 per il Bronzo finale, ma anche Campus/Leonelli 2006; 2012; vedi anche Ialongo 2010 per la suddivisione in fasi.

² Cfr. Ugas 2009; Depalmas 2009, Ialongo 2010 vs. Campus/Leonelli 2006.

³ Cavalier/Depalmas 2008, 294.

⁴ Ialongo 2014; Pacciarelli 1999; 2005, 8.

⁵ Campus/Leonelli 2012, 142.

⁶ La fine dell'età romana è tradizionalmente posta nell'anno 238 a.C. quando i Romani sono riusciti ad impadronirsi dell'isola durante la prima guerra punica. Mastino 2005, 65. Tuttavia la sopravvivenza dei nuragici è attestata anche fino al periodo alto medievale, Lilliu 1989, Webster/Teglund 1992.

⁷ Campus/Leonelli 2006; Depalmas, 2009, 142.

⁸ Lilliu 1985; Mariani 2015.

- ⁹ Usai 2007.
 - ¹⁰ Campus/Leonelli 2006; Ugas 2009.
 - ¹¹ Lo Schiavo 1992, 296.
 - ¹² Fadda, 1991.
 - ¹³ Fadda, 2012.
 - ¹⁴ Bradley 1988.
 - ¹⁵ Cf. Santocchini Gerg 2010, 84.
 - ¹⁶ Fadda 2012, 23-25.
 - ¹⁷ Fadda 2012, 36.
 - ¹⁸ Fadda 2006, 79.
 - ¹⁹ Perra 2012, 277-278.
 - ²⁰ D'Oriano 1999; D'Oriano/Oggiano 2005.
 - ²¹ Sanciu 2010; 2012a; 2012b.
 - ²² Docter 2007; Bechtold/Docter, 2010.
 - ²³ Per il periodo in esame segnaliamo un orlo di anfora Corinzia A da Posada (Sanciu 2010) e un'anfora punica T-1.4.2.1. del VI sec. trovata al Castello di Medusa (Lottorai) (Secci 2012).
 - ²⁴ Santocchini Gerg c.d.s. nota 67.
 - ²⁵ Dietler 2010, 212-215.
 - ²⁶ Dietler 2010, 213-215.
 - ²⁷ Dietler 2010, 133-156; Izzet 2007, 165-207; Spivey/Stoddart 1990, 52-61).
 - ²⁸ Dietler 2010; Osborne 1996.
 - ²⁹ Dietler 2010, 134-5.
 - ³⁰ Congiu 2008; Fadda 2008.
 - ³¹ Lo Schiavo et al. 1985, Alcuni autori sostengono che i lingotti a pelle di bue ritrovati in Sardegna vengano da Cipro, un'affermazione che non trova d'accordo tutti gli studiosi data la difficoltà di identificare la provenienza dei metalli usando il metodo di analisi degli isotopi di piombo (cf. Begemann et al. 2001, 69-71; Blake 2014, 101-102; Knapp 2000, 36-47).
 - ³² Da ultimo, Lo Schiavo 2012; Ridgway 2006, 303; Lo Schiavo 2001, 2003.
 - ³³ Falchi et al. 2008; Milletti 2012.
 - ³⁴ Zifferero 2002.
 - ³⁵ Karageorghis 2011.
 - ³⁶ Bouscaras/Hugues 1967, 173-184.
 - ³⁷ Dietler 2010.
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L'animale cangiante: una messa a punto su chimere e varianti nella cultura figurativa dell'Italia preromana tra area tirrenica e area adriatica in età orientalizzante

Enrico Giovanelli

Abstract

*In the last years particular attention has been given to fantastic creatures in antiquity. As a consequence of this new interest we could have now a better overview of the phenomenon. Undoubtedly Mischwesen must be considered one of the hallmarks of the Orientalizing iconography in the Mediterranean and Pre-Roman Italy and their study offers a wide and valuable frame to trace on the one hand the several influences from Greece and Levant and on the other hand the development of an original local repertoire. This paper focuses on some peculiar subjects that are particularly widespread in central Italy (in particular chimaeras and their modifications) and aims to point out the iconographical models and ways of transmission starting from the most recent studies.**

Le recentissime ricerche sul bestiario fantastico della penisola in Età Orientalizzante hanno ormai messo a disposizione della comunità scientifica nuova messe di dati inediti accanto a ulteriori spunti di riflessione e considerazioni su materiali già largamente noti.¹

Questo patrimonio figurativo costituisce uno dei tratti più marcati del fenomeno orientalizzante nell'Italia preromana² e si fa portatore di una complessità di messaggi e significati fondanti delle nuove aristocrazie emergenti che sono sia committenti sia destinatari di monumenti e opere³ e conseguentemente dettano anche le regole di questa comunicazione.⁴

Coerentemente infatti M. Harari, nel contributo introduttivo del secondo volume del *Bestiario fantastico*, parla di un 'processo di alfabetizzazione figurativa' che irrompe sul sostanziale 'aniconismo villanoviano' e ribadisce ancora una volta come questo filone di studi sia stato afflitto da posizioni riduttive e banalizzanti che liquidavano il bestiario a mero motivo riempitivo-decorativo.⁵

Questi stimoli sarebbero stati recepiti e rielaborati diversamente a seconda delle aree. Si assiste infatti alla compresenza di due tendenze: da un lato alcune composizioni di esseri fantastici presentano una evidente e ben ricostruibile scelta di modelli di ispirazione orientale e greca come ad esempio soggetti classici quali sfingi o centauri,⁶ dall'altro vi sono veri e propri casi di profonde ricombinazioni di schemi figurativi che portano ad esiti nuovi come viene ben documentato dagli

esseri fantastici che popolano diverse classi di oggetti tra area tirrenica e area adriatica. In particolare questa tendenza marcatamente sperimentale e meno fedele sembrerebbe distinguere maggiormente le aree interne e la costa adriatica mentre la costa tirrenica, che per prima accoglie prodotti e maestranze allogene, si allineerebbe di più agli originali.⁷

In questo contributo si cercherà di fare una messa a punto del panorama alla luce di questi recenti aggiornamenti. Prima di entrare nel merito del periodo orientalizzante è necessario tuttavia riassumere brevemente il quadro autoctono, in particolare villanoviano, a proposito di queste raffigurazioni. Il tema infatti è stato ampiamente trattato da L. Drago, la quale in due recenti contributi sottolinea come già nella prima Età del Ferro in diversi centri etruschi sia diffusa la presenza di oggetti decorati da protomi animali, sia nella bronzistica sia nella plastica decorativa dei fittili.⁸ Questi esseri sono riconducibili sostanzialmente a tre animali: uccelli acquatici (anatidi), tori, secondariamente cavalli.⁹ Se il loro significato (vita oltremondana, rapporto con il mondo ctonio e la fertilità) è ampiamente noto e trattato in letteratura,¹⁰ l'aspetto più recentemente indagato è il processo di formazione che ha portato alle commistioni tra i diversi animali. Tale tradizione del resto sembrerebbe continuare un processo avviatosi già nel Bronzo Tardo, secondo una casistica precedentemente analizzata da I. Damiani. L'ibridazione si marcherebbe proprio

tra il Protovillanoviano e il Villanoviano.¹¹ La più frequente ricombinazione avviene tra toro/bue e uccello acquatico, principalmente su manufatti bronzei di grande impegno nella variante corpo di uccello-testa taurina.¹²

Il caso però forse meglio analizzato, anche in tempi recenti, riguarda la doppia protome ornitomorfa, unanimemente ormai interpretata come equivalente della barca solare, motivo di lungo corso in senso temporale e geografico.¹³ Un'altra stimolante osservazione della Damiani, come poi vedremo in seguito, riguarda la figura del cavallo che in alcuni casi presenterebbe il muso reso a becco di uccello. Pur premettendo che l'osservazione rimane plausibilissima, occorre sempre chiedersi se ci fosse intenzionalità in questa possibile commistione e di conseguenza fosse percepita dai possessori. La stilizzazione infatti porta alla semplificazione dei tratti, perciò il muso equino viene rappresentato come allungato e affusolato, a volte quasi a becco. Potrà sembrare estemporaneo però si può forse ricordare come i pesci comunemente noti come cavallucci marini o ippocampi presentino una testa con medesime caratteristiche e proprio su questa base hanno assunto la loro denominazione, senza alcun riferimento ai volatili. Si può anche rilevare come in particolare nei morsi equini gli animali siano spesso dotati di criniera, particolare a mio avviso abbastanza disambiguante nello specifico caso.¹⁴

Il quadro che si ha nell'Italia preromana tra la fine del II e l'inizio del I millennio a.C. sembrerebbe dimostrare che già a livello autoctono si sia sviluppato un certo fervore nell'elaborazione di queste raffigurazioni. Nell'Età del Ferro diversi casi di ibridismo si riscontrano anche sulla ceramica in impasto locale. Alcune forme tuttavia, quali alcuni *askoi*,¹⁵ rievocano chiaramente modelli levantini, ragion per cui si potrebbe ipotizzare che la loro accettazione e fortuna in ambito etrusco potesse proprio legarsi al fatto che rispondessero a caratteristiche e gusti già affermatasi.¹⁶ Secondo Drago nella prima parte dell'Orientalizzante Antico sembrerebbero esservi tracce di continuità con il periodo precedente e solo successivamente, nel corso dell'Orientalizzante Medio, si avrebbe la vera e propria esplosione di soggetti completamente o fortemente debitori dell'apporto iconografico orientale ed egeo.¹⁷ Nella fase a cavallo tra VIII e VII secolo a.C. tale apporto, nelle sue più svariate forme (insediamento di maestranze straniere che si adattano ad istanze della committenza locale, formano apprendisti in loco e diffondono un nuovo linguaggio figurativo, arrivo diretto di prodotti e imitazione locale), si innesterebbe su

un repertorio figurativo autoctono assai limitato nella scelta. L'esito è diversificato e dà luogo ad un repertorio del tutto originale e difficilmente inquadrabile di *Mischwesen* anomali. L'impulso iniziale sembrerebbe proprio da individuarsi in classi quali suppellettili in bronzo e intagli, senza ovviamente potersi escludere beni in materiali deperibili quali legno o tessuti.¹⁸

L'area che vede maggiormente l'attestazione di tali esseri mostruosi, che in letteratura sono stati solo in parte e variamente definiti, sembra comprendere da est a ovest i distretti falisco, capenate, la Sabina tiberina, l'Umbria (grazie a recenti rinvenimenti da poco pubblicati sembrerebbe anch'essa pienamente coinvolta), l'Abruzzo e le Marche.¹⁹ L'ordine scelto non è casuale: nei distretti falisco (Narce in particolare) e capenate si riscontra la maggiore variabilità di questi esseri come enunciato nell'analisi di M.C. Biella relativamente alle produzioni in impasto.²⁰ Accanto infatti ad animali con corpo leonino ve ne sono altrettanti con corpo equino e si riscontra un unico caso con corpo caprino. G. Colonna già qualche anno fa aveva coniato il termine 'chimera equina' per designare questa variante rispetto alla tassonomia più canonica del mostro relativamente ad un artigiano attivo nel distretto orvietano, il Pittore delle Chimere,²¹ e si può ricordare come già nella produzione del Pittore dell'Eptacordo il leone possa presentare al posto delle zampe artigliate degli zoccoli.²²

Dall'analisi condotta da M. Cantù sugli impasti rinvenuti nell'area della Sabina tiberina sembrerebbero prevalere le rielaborazioni a partire da esseri con corpo equino a fronte della minore ricorrenza di figure con corpo felino. La vicinanza stilistica con le produzioni falische e capenati è molto stringente e si mantengono tratti tipici quali gli innesti di teste di altri animali e soprattutto ali falcate. Rilevante è la mancata penetrazione di questi temi figurativi nella Sabina meridionale, fatto imputabile forse a istanze dettate dalle classi dominanti locali.²³

In Umbria alcune raffigurazioni sempre riconducibili alle variazioni sulla 'chimera equina' sono attestate nelle produzioni vascolari in impasto.²⁴ I rinvenimenti recentemente pubblicati dalle necropoli orientalizzanti di Spoleto arricchiscono ulteriormente il quadro offerto dalla regione.²⁵ Questi primi dati annoverano anche manufatti di rilevantissimo significato come i due scettri bronzei (uno purtroppo incompleto) dalla tomba 8 di Piazza d'Armi.²⁶ Soprattutto il primo scettro è interessante per il nostro discorso dal momento che su un lato vede un figura armata maschile che sembra reggere al di sopra di sé un animale

reso a doppia protome equina con appendice (identificabile quindi come un *despotes theron*) mentre sull'altro riproduce ancora un animale dal corpo equino con il capo da felino predatore che sembra assalire un cervide (figg. 1, 2).

Relativamente al mondo piceno la raccolta dati è stata condotta da A. Coen, dove accanto ad un linguaggio colto e fedele ai modelli allogeni,²⁷ ancora gli impasti, a cui si aggiungono alcuni bronzi e intagli, presentano il medesimo repertorio di mostri anomali. Anche questo comparto dimostra di fare pienamente sue queste suggestioni iconografiche se si considerano in special modo la bronzistica e



Figg. 1-2. Scettro da Spoleto, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Umbria (da Weidig 2015, 264, figg. 1a-b).

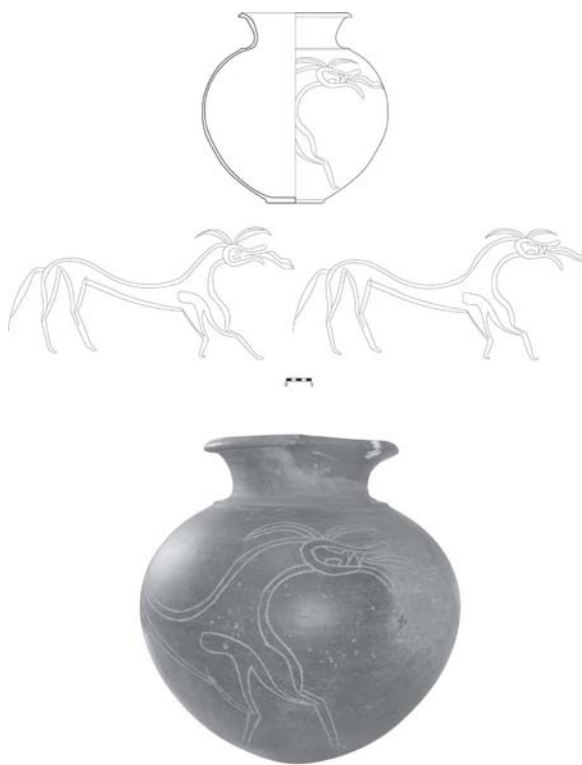


Fig. 3. Olla da Falerii, Philadelphia University Museum (da MacIntosh Turfa/Tabolli 2016, 153, figg. 5-6).

avori e ossi lavorati. In queste classi infatti, da varie località, compaiono cavalli con coda desinente a testa d'animale.²⁸ Questo quindi è il quadro relativo a queste particolari rappresentazioni di esseri difficilmente etichettabili e variamente definiti come chimere.

Ripartendo ora dall'Agro Falisco, tra i materiali di alcuni contesti di *Falerii* conservati al Philadelphia University Museum e recentemente 'riscoperti', merita attenzione un'olla, collocabile ancora entro la metà del VII a.C. (fig. 3).²⁹ L'animale raffigurato infatti presenta corpo equino e testa leonina con fauci spalancate e lingua estroflessa. Il particolare interessante è la resa delle orecchie molto allungate, quasi ad antenne. Il confronto più prossimo rievocato dagli editori è un *kantharos* tardogeometrico dove due leoni antropofagi presentano orecchie rese sostanzialmente nella medesima maniera (fig. 4).³⁰

Le prime rappresentazioni del leone nell'arte greca dell'Età del Ferro si collocano grossomodo a metà del Medio Geometrico II e tutte le varianti attestate sembrerebbero sostanzialmente riconducibili a modelli siriani e fenici, frequenti in particolare nella toreutica, e presenterebbero elementi



Fig. 4. Kantharos tardogeometrico da Atene, København National Museum (da Childs 2013, 61, fig. 15).



Fig. 5. Fregio con cani su anfora geometrica attica, mercato antiquario (da Coldstream 1994, fig. 4).

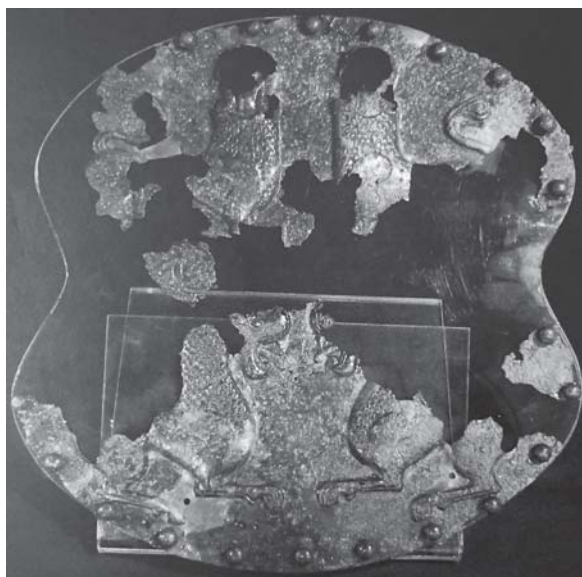


Fig. 6. Pettorale in bronzo dal Circolo delle Sfingi di Vetulonia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze (da Cianferoni 2014, 98, fig. 1).

morfologici comuni ai cani, quali la resa delle orecchie.³¹ Tali modelli del resto sono ben documentati in Italia su alcuni oggetti del corredo della Tomba Bernardini di Palestrina, databile all'incirca agli inizi dell'Orientalizzante Medio, dove i leoni sono rappresentati con le orecchie lunghe e dritte. Si possono aggiungere inoltre le protomi del calderone della tomba Regolini Galassi di Cerveteri, la maniglia di coperchio dal complesso di Fabbrecce e un coperchio dalla tomba 14 di Monte Penna dove i leoni hanno sempre le orecchie ritte.³² Tale tratto secondo I. Krauskopf sarebbe il risultato di una commistione tra la raffigurazione del leone e del lupo; tuttavia la studiosa non affronta a mio avviso la possibilità che si possa invece trattare di elementi canini, per cui, forse, sarebbe più opportuno e prudente parlare di canidi.³³

Sia il vaso falisco sia il *kantharos* presentano però delle orecchie più sinuose, non triangolari e acute. Interessante a tal proposito è un contributo di J.N. Coldstream il quale nel 1994 presentò un'anfora geometrica attica che nella sua opinione costituiva una novità nel panorama della produzione sia per ragioni compositive sia delle rappresentazioni. Coldstream rilevava la presenza di un fregio con tre leoni su entrambi i lati. Il particolare interessante è dato proprio dalla resa diversa delle orecchie sui tre felini, quasi a voler illustrare di proposito le possibili modalità di rappresentazione di questo dettaglio: l'ultimo presenta infatti un orecchio (in visione di profilo) sinuoso (fig. 5).³⁴

Un simile particolare si riscontra a mio avviso anche sui leoni presenti sul pettorale dal Circolo delle Sfingi di Vetulonia (fig. 6), sui dischi conservati a St. Louis (figg. 7, 8) e su un bacile bronzeo da Castelletto Ticino (fig. 9).³⁵ Camporeale ha recentemente ribadito ancora l'ipotesi di un collegamento tra quest'ultimo e un bacile da Capena realizzati con la medesima tecnica.³⁶

G. Cianferoni, allineandosi ad altre posizioni già espresse in precedenza, ha riaffermato che la bottega del pettorale, dei dischi e del bacile sia inequivocabilmente la medesima e che stilisticamente vi siano forti contatti con le tradizioni urartee e nord-siriane, peraltro pienamente recepite anche nelle produzioni fenicie.³⁷ A quest'officina inoltre già quasi trent'anni orsono Ch. Reusser aveva attribuito i pezzi di una probabile testiera da cavallo, facente parte della collezione Ludwig e conservata a Basilea (fig. 10).³⁸ In questo caso addirittura i leoni sono raffigurati in maniera molto dinamica, quasi a rendere una corsa, e alcuni di essi sembrerebbero avere sulle zampe posteriori degli zoccoli al posto degli artigli. Anche la posa



Figg. 7-8. Dischi in bronzo, St. Louis Art Museum (da Tomedi 2000, tavv. 22, 47 e 23, 48).

degli animali, con gli arti posteriori ben distesi sembrano rendere più l'idea dei cavalli al galoppo che dei felini in corsa. Nel caso di uno di questi bronzi tuttavia non si può parlare con sicurezza di orecchie dal momento che almeno su un disco di St. Louis queste sembrerebbero essere state rese a goccia appena dietro gli occhi (fig. 7).³⁹ Aggiunte di questo tipo sono piuttosto tipiche delle sfingi e (anche) dei grifi e sembrerebbero essere un apporto orientale mediato da Creta come rilevato da N. Kourou e più recentemente ribadito da F. Sciacca.⁴⁰



Fig. 9. Bacile da Castelletto Ticino, Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Torino (Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo © Musei Reali di Torino - Museo di Antichità).

Recentissimamente sono apparse sul mercato antiquario due protomi di bronzo, già facenti parte di una collezione privata negli Stati Uniti. Sono definite come protomi di alare e presentano gli animali accovacciati e con la testa rivolta di lato, fauci spalancate e lingua e zanne ben visibili (fig. 11). Anche in questo caso però è interessante la resa delle orecchie: sono infatti sproporzionate, rese più grandi del vero e molto più simili a quelle di un cane come rileva correttamente l'anonimo redattore della scheda della casa d'aste.⁴¹ Sono entrambe simili ad una analoga protome di alare della Tomba Bernardini, seppur sembrano di qualità decisamente superiore, con una maggiore attenzione al dettaglio, e abbiano proprio la resa diversa delle orecchie, più allungate, che le contraddistinguono.⁴²

Analizzando l'iconografia dell'altro disco di St. Louis (fig. 8), la creatura è un leone con coda resa a testa di animale (equino?).⁴³ Il motivo è diffuso e variamente rielaborato nella versione dei dischi del Gruppo Capena. L'esemplare in questione tuttavia è reso in maniera molto dettagliata, qualitativamente superiore agli esemplari capenati e presenta le medesime caratteristiche delle orecchie 'ad antenna'. In particolare Colonna attribuiva a tale centro l'invenzione della decorazione con animali fantastici sui dischi corazza derivanti dal tipo Mozzano. Questa asserzione tuttavia oggi può essere rimessa in discussione dai restauri effettuati proprio sull'esemplare di Vetulonia la cui lamina non risulta essere circolare come nelle ricostruzioni finora proposte ma presenterebbe rientranze del tutto simili a quelle del pettorale di Bolsena individuato da Colonna come archetipo protostorico del gruppo Mozzano (fig. 6).⁴⁴ L'innovazione dell'apportare la decorazione mostruosa su un oggetto di tradizione villanoviana potrebbe essere perciò strettamente legata agli artisti operanti in questa officina vetuloniese. Vetulonia è sempre



Fig. 10. Testiera da cavallo in bronzo, collezione Ludwig, Antikenmuseum Basel
(da Berger 1982, n. 218, figg. 218 A-B).



Fig. 11. Protomi di alare in bronzo, già N.B. e W.H. Hunt Collection, mercato antiquario (da <http://www.phoenixancientart.com/work-of-art/pair-of-lion-protomes>).

indicata un centro con una particolare precocità di contatti col Levante mediterraneo, dimostrati ad esempio dalla presenza di una delle più antiche coppe siriane in Italia.⁴⁵ Ovviamente ciò non impedisce di pensare che qualche esponente della bottega possa essersi spostato e avere operato in altre località, considerando l'estrema mobilità degli artigiani, specialmente dei toreuti. A proposito del già citato bacile di Castelletto si può ricordare che dalla medesima località sia attestata anche una stele con la raffigurazione di un guerriero che indossa un pettorale.⁴⁶ In questo senso perciò la

precedente intuizione di Colonna non sarebbe del tutto da respingere ma semplicemente andrebbe corretta: l'associazione della raffigurazione della fiera mostruosa con un particolare tipo di oggetto di tradizione etrusco-italica sarebbe avvenuto e sarebbe stato rielaborato in ambito costiero ma successivamente esploso in Italia centrale, dove avrebbe goduto di particolare fortuna. Inoltre non sottovaluterei l'indicazione della provenienza di uno dei dischi del gruppo Capena da Palestrina⁴⁷ che, come precedentemente accennato, sembra essere un ulteriore contesto dove queste suggestioni sono presenti.⁴⁸ Allo stato attuale quindi l'ipotesi, recentemente ribadita da R. Papi, che la raffigurazione del soggetto mostruoso sui dischi del gruppo Capena sia attribuibile al comprensorio del Fucino mi pare difficilmente sostenibile, fatto salvo che questo comprensorio possa avere comunque giocato un ruolo nella diffusione e elaborazione ulteriore della classe.⁴⁹

Anche le recenti precisazioni di J. Weidig puntano decisamente in questa direzione, ovvero ribadiscono i medesimi concetti di stretta affinità tra i gruppi Capena e Vetulonia a proposito delle iconografie dei *Mischwesen* e della derivazione del

gruppo Capena da quello Mozzano per la forma,⁵⁰ corroborando così quanto rilevato dalla Cianferoni.⁵¹ Ancora Weidig infatti puntualmente ricorda come il processo di combinazione di animali bicefali (con presenza del corpo o ridotti a semplici protomi delle teste, speculari o in opposizione) sia proprio ben documentato nei centri dell'Etruria costiera settentrionale e interna a quote cronologiche relativamente alte.⁵² Alla medesima conclusione del resto era già giunto anche A. Maggiani relativamente alle raffigurazioni a duplice testa umana.⁵³

Riprendendo la suddivisione in gruppi proposta da Colonna, Papi e Tomedi,⁵⁴ sempre Weidig nota che l'animale sui gruppi Numana, Paglieta e Alfedena presenta caratteristiche differenti rispetto ai gruppi Vetulonia e Capena. Il corpo sarebbe di base equino mentre le teste sarebbero caratteristiche di un uccello. Ad essi tuttavia si aggiungono sicuramente dei tratti felini quali gli artigli e la particolarità dei numerosi esemplari con becco aperto e lingua estroflessa potrebbe derivare dal motivo diffusissimo del leone rappresentato in questa maniera. Sono inoltre presenti anche delle antenne o corna che a volte costituiscono di nuovo doppie protomi ornitomorfe.⁵⁵ Certamente l'associazione cavallo e volatile ci riporta a quanto esposto all'inizio, ovvero a retaggi della fine dell'Età del Bronzo/inizio dell'Età del Ferro. Weidig infatti rileva come il motivo sia probabilmente un retaggio autoctono di origine più antica e sembrerebbero esserci indizi abbastanza validi in questo senso.⁵⁶ L'aggiunta degli elementi ferini sarebbe una creazione delle botteghe che hanno realizzato questi dischi date le forti somiglianze stilistiche dei soggetti rappresentati. Inoltre l'arco di vita della classe non estesissimo indirizzerebbe verso un numero assai limitato di queste ultime. La datazione di tutti questi manufatti, quando contestualizzati, non risale oltre il terzo quarto del VII a.C. e, come ricordato poc'anzi, forse un ruolo decisivo del comprensorio del Fucino potrebbe essere invocato per la diffusione e circolazione degli oggetti.⁵⁷ Nell'ambito delle considerazioni espresse da Weidig, ritengo che la definizione di 'drago' per gli esseri raffigurati sulle serie Numana, Paglieta e Alfedena sia inappropriata. Essa rievoca la presenza di elementi anguiformi ma da un punto di vista iconografico nessun particolare può definirsi tale.⁵⁸

Riassumendo quindi il motivo del leone con testa a coda di animale potrebbe essere sorto in ambito costiero ed essersi affermato in ambito falisco e capenate mentre il mondo adriatico e abruzzese potrebbero aver operato un'ulteriore selezione innestando solo alcuni tratti felini su un

motivo di derivazione più antico. Se volessimo definire anche questo animale si potrebbe parlare di una sorta di ippogrifo piuttosto che di drago. Nel caso dei dischi corazza metallici l'animale fantastico, oltre che un valore apotropaico e legato alla sfera bellica, potrebbe avere avuto anche un valore marcatamente araldico e identificativo considerandolo alla luce di quanto illustrato dalle fonti relativamente al rapporto tra popolazioni italiche e i rispettivi animali totemici con la tradizione del *ver sacrum*.⁵⁹

Nel novero di questa classe l'unica creatura fantastica che non si può inquadrare in nessuna di quelle precedentemente citate è il doppio cavallo raffigurato sugli esemplari della tomba 17 di Pitino S. Severino (fig. 12). Su entrambi è riprodotta una creatura fantastica a corpo verosimilmente equino (schema A1 di Weidig),⁶⁰ con al posto degli zoccoli delle dita quasi umane. Sul disco più grande l'animale è sovrastato da una figura itifallica con braccia levate, in posa estatica, mentre al di sotto



Fig. 12. Dischi da Pitino S. Severino, Museo Nazionale Archeologico della Marche di Ancona (da Tomedi 2000, tav. 135, 382-383).

vi è una figura a braccia e gambe divaricate. Della scena sono state date interpretazioni svariate, fra cui quella più frequentemente accreditata sarebbe di un accoppiamento abnorme tra la creatura e il personaggio sottostante.⁶¹ A mio avviso queste interpretazioni sono suscettibili di alcune osservazioni: innanzitutto se, come rileva peraltro correttamente Weidig, il sesso della del personaggio sottostante non è assolutamente indicato, non lo è nemmeno quello della creatura. Come noto non vi erano certo tabù nel rendere esplicitamente questi dettagli e lo dimostra del resto anche la figura umana superiore. La resa della sottostante, in una posa esasperata e quasi disarticolata, in realtà potrebbe essere letta come il tentativo di indicare il dinamismo e il movimento della scena. La disposizione rovesciata della figura inoltre deve essere vista in relazione alla forma del supporto. Oggetti circolari o ellittici vedono spesso la disposizione innaturale di alcuni dei soggetti, con figure completamente rovesciate.⁶² Personalmente lascerei da parte interpretazioni più o meno pruriginose proprio perché non c'è alcuna esplicitazione degli organi sessuali né del personaggio né della creatura. Penserei piuttosto ad un *desultor*. Rappresentazioni di *desultores* sono ad esempio attestate da fibule di diversi contesti (ad esempio Tarquinia, in particolare dalla tomba di Bocchoris) già in epoca precedente.⁶³ Recentemente G. Paolucci, F. Lo Schiavo e T. Cossu hanno presentato una fibula da Chiusi dove la resa di tale gesto atletico è ancora più ardita dal momento che il cavaliere è realizzato con quattro gambe con il probabile intento di immortalare (per una visione da entrambi i lati) il momento in cui balza sul cavallo in corsa.⁶⁴ Non escluderei perciò che anche la scena del disco sia la rappresentazione di un'acrobazia rischiosa analoga a quelle che sono ancora visibili oggi in esibizioni di equitazione, come nelle forme di volteggio a cavallo più estreme. La scena manterrebbe comunque una sua coerenza anche con questa lettura considerando come la figura itifallica, che potrebbe assistere alla scena, sia spesso associata non solo alla sfera erotica ma anche all'*aretè* in scene di caccia o prove di coraggio e destrezza.⁶⁵ A ultima notazione tale messaggio non osterebbe all'inquadramento di G. Tagliamonte, ovvero l'affermazione dello statuto di valenti cavalieri da parte dei membri delle *élites* picene del tempo ma anzi potrebbe aggiungere un'ulteriore connotazione in questa direzione considerando come l'esercizio di abilità equestre sia un momento formativo fondamentale in ottica aristocratica.⁶⁶

Arrivando ora a trarre un bilancio, questo fermento da una sponda all'altra dell'Italia centrale

sembrerebbe confermare da un lato il forte spirito innovatore e la ricezione non passiva di iconografie allogene, anzi una rielaborazione tale che ricrea esseri ormai lontani parenti dei loro corrispettivi orientali e egei, posto sempre che possano esserlo. La generale tendenza a rielaborare e ricombinare fino all'estrema variabilità evidenziata negli impasti falisci e soprattutto capenati sono certamente imputabili ad un marcato sperimentalismo delle botteghe o singole personalità artistiche. Esso tuttavia è un codice formale che si va canonizzando e definendo e non può essere solo riducibile a una mancanza di domestichezza con modelli all'altro o processi di fraintendimento dei soggetti rappresentati. Ragionando sul concetto di ibrido nel mondo antico J. Hughes in un breve ma assai provocante articolo ha giustamente ricordato come si tratti di un composto intrinsecamente instabile e per tali ragioni si presti ad essere esplorato, disaggregato e letteralmente dissezionato, parafrasando proprio le parole della studiosa.⁶⁷ Sulla base della casistica raccolta nei due dossier⁶⁸ credo che tale atteggiamento sia pienamente manifestato anche dagli artisti e artigiani della penisola italiana in Età Orientalizzante, i quali scompongono e ricombinano parti dei vari animali creandone altri, operando veri e propri innesti. La creazione di esseri mostruosi tramite un processo di progressiva addizione di dettagli anatomici diversificati non rappresenta in Etruria e nel mondo preromano l'*akosmia* bensì avrebbe un valore 'ipercosmico', ovvero superiore alla dimensione umana e terrena, che ne rafforza la potenzialità narrativa, secondo una pregnante osservazione di M. Harari.⁶⁹

Nel caso specifico illustrato in questa sede usare il termine chimera può avere ormai un senso assai relativo,⁷⁰ specie se ci si riferisce alla creatura canonica di tipo greco, altrimenti possono essere inclusi tutti questi *Mischwesen* anomali, dando al termine un'accezione mutuata quasi dalle discipline biologiche.

NOTE

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¹ I risultati del progetto di ricerca sono attualmente confluiti in due volumi (Biella et al. 2012; Biella/Giovanelli 2016). La vitalità di quest'argomento è del resto certificata anche da altri lavori molto recenti: Camporeale, G.

- 2009, Monstra Anonyma (in Etruria), in *LIMC, Suppl.* 1, 359-371; Krauskopf, I. 2009, Daemones anonymi (in Etruria), in *LIMC, Suppl.* 1, 143-156; Baglioni 2013; Giustozzi et al. 2013; Camporeale 2010-2013; Gran Aymenrich 2010-2013; Paolucci 2010-2013, Krauskopf 2014.
- ² Per lo stesso fenomeno nel mondo greco, seppur più limitato, e con l'eccezione di alcuni esiti sperimentali che tuttavia non sopravvivranno in età arcaica si veda Rocco 2006, con riferimenti.
- ³ Smith 2016.
- ⁴ Papalexandrou 2016.
- ⁵ Harari 2016. Dello stesso avviso è M. Sannibale per quanto riguarda la raffigurazione di altri motivi fra cui dei possibili simboli astrali (Sannibale 2008a, 2008b).
- ⁶ Si vedano Sciacca 2012; Maturo 2014; Smoquina 2012, 2016, tutti con riferimenti. Riguardo al centauro vi sono comunque casi che si discostano dal modello greco (Di Fazio 2012; Martelli 2012).
- ⁷ Biella 2012, 117.
- ⁸ Drago 2012, 2013.
- ⁹ Drago 2012: sporadici risultano i canidi e i caprovini. Per le figure umane mostruose Drago 2013, più in generale Babbi 2008 e Rathje 2013 con ulteriori spunti di riflessione.
- ¹⁰ Per il motivo della barca solare con protomi aviformi nella protostoria centroeuropea in generale Kossack 1999; per l'Etruria Camporeale 2012.
- ¹¹ Damiani 2004, 2005 e 2006, 666, fig. 1: dove l'autrice sottolinea come su ciò incida anche l'aumento di manufatti nelle diverse classi di materiali.
- ¹² Damiani 2006. Inoltre Drago 2012, 2013; Lo Schiavo 2003; 2010, 886, tav. 721 per le fibule da parata da varie località della Campania.
- ¹³ Si vedano ad esempio Bettelli 2004; Damiani 2004; Dolfini 2004; Iaia 2004; Negroni Catacchio 2004, 319-325. Per l'uccello acquatico Medoro Kanitz 2012; Brocato 2012, 133-147; per la barca solare Camporeale 2012.
- ¹⁴ Come sottolineato in Krauskopf 2014, 17.
- ¹⁵ Per alcuni esempi Drago 2012, 2013.
- ¹⁶ In letteratura tali *askoi* sono frequentemente ricondotti a ispirazioni e modelli egei. Sugli *askoi* nel mondo egeo Kourou 1997, dove si rilevava già la particolarità di ibridazioni tra quelli a corpo di uccello e protome di altro animale.
- ¹⁷ Drago 2012, 21.
- ¹⁸ Cfr. nota precedente.
- ¹⁹ In particolare i nuovi dati provengono da Spoleto: Manca/Weidig 2014; 2015; Weidig 2016, con riferimenti. Il fenomeno che coinvolge queste aree si può collocare grosso modo tra l'Orientalizzante Medio-Recente e la prima parte dell'Arcaismo, seppur le rispettive cronologie siano in alcuni casi ancora in fase di definizione precisa.
- ²⁰ Biella 2012, 124. Inoltre Terrosi Zanco 1964; Krauskopf, I. 1986, Chimaira (in Etruria), in *LIMC* III, 259-269; Scotti 2012; Camporeale 2014; Morandini 2016, con bibl. aggiornata.
- ²¹ Colonna 2003, 519-521; Medori 2012, 78-79: Colonna ipotizza una provenienza falisco-capenate, Medori restringe alla sola Capena. Sulla possibilità di artigiani falisci e capenati trasferiti in altri distretti Camporeale 2009.
- ²² Martelli 1988.
- ²³ Da ultimo Cantù 2012.
- ²⁴ Manca/Weidig 2014; Weidig 2015; 2016. Ad esempio si vedano alcuni rinvenimenti da S. Pietro in Campo (Terni), in Broncoli 2006, figg. 7b, 13 confrontabili con Cantù 2012, fig. 1.
- ²⁵ Manca/Weidig 2014; Weidig 2015; 2016.
- ²⁶ Manca/Weidig 2014, 68-74, 103-108; Weidig 2015, 62-64. Degli scettri non è indicato ancora l'inventario.
- ²⁷ Mediati dall'Etruria ma sicuramente a partire dall'avanzato VII a.C. (Orientalizzante Recente) con una via diretta dal mondo greco, Coen 2012 con riferimenti.
- ²⁸ Coen 2012; Giovanelli 2012; Weidig 2016.
- ²⁹ MacIntosh Turfa/Tabolli 2014, 57-58; MacIntosh Turfa/Tabolli 2016.
- ³⁰ Childs 2013, 61. Leoni/cani falisci sono raffigurati anche su due figurine in ambra (Giovanelli 2016). Influssi protoattici a Narce sono ben documentati nella ceramografia del tempo (Drago et al. 2014 con riferimenti).
- ³¹ Rombos 1988, 185-190; in particolare Kauffmann-Samaras, A. 1972, CVA: France 25, Louvre 16, Paris, 9, A514, tav. 3.
- ³² Brown 1960, tavv. VIII.b, IX (Regolini Galassi) e XII.a-d; Canciani/von Hase 1979, 10, tavv. 46-47; Paolucci 2010-2013; Krauskopf 2014 (per la maniglia di coperchio dal complesso di Fabbrecce e per il coperchio dalla tomba 14 di Monte Penna).
- ³³ Krauskopf 2014. Per le ibridazioni con il cane Perego 2012a, 2012b. Inoltre, come ribadito anche nella presente sede, la commistione tra elementi canini e leonini nella ceramografia greca, in particolare attica, sembra un fatto consolidato già nel tardo geometrico e tracciabile in modelli vicino orientali (cfr. nota 31).
- ³⁴ Coldstream 1994.
- ³⁵ Cianferoni 2014: la studiosa distacca l'esemplare vetuloniese dai dischi corazza propriamente detti (su cui da ultimo Papi 2014b, 71-86: i dischi a decorazione geometrica lavorati a traforo sono pertinenti a sepolture femminili e avrebbero valore ornamentale e apotropaico mentre quelli non decorati o a decorazioni animalistiche sarebbero propriamente i dischi corazza maschili).
- ³⁶ Camporeale 2014, 335; inoltre Brown 1960, 22-23, tavv. V.a, XI.a.
- ³⁷ Gambari 1988; Colonna 1974, 2007; Camporeale 2007; Krauskopf 2014; Cianferoni 2014.
- ³⁸ Reusser 1988, 32-33, cat. E 38 A/B, cfr. anche Berger 1982, 264-272, n. 218.
- ³⁹ Tomedi 2000, tav. 22, 47.
- ⁴⁰ Kourou 1992; Sciacca 2012, 242-244. Ricordo inoltre che un possibile ippogrifo dotato di lunga appendice dietro la testa terminante in due lobi è presente sempre nella produzione in impasto falisca (cfr. Biella 2012, fig. 8; Camporeale 2014, 333-336).
- ⁴¹ Sul sito della casa d'aste Phoenix Ancient Art (<http://www.phoenixancientart.com/work-of-art/pair-of-lion-protomes>). Le due protomi facevano parte della Nelson Bunker Hunt and William Herbert Hunt Collection. La provenienza precisa purtroppo è ignota.
- ⁴² Brown 1960, 25, nota 1, tav. X, b.
- ⁴³ Tomedi 2000, n. 48.
- ⁴⁴ Cianferoni 2014.
- ⁴⁵ Da ultimo Gaucci 2009.
- ⁴⁶ Colonna 1974, 202. Oltre allo spostamento di un artigiano rimane altrettanto valida la possibilità di un *gift-exchange* tra aristocratici.
- ⁴⁷ Tomedi 2000, nn. 44-45.
- ⁴⁸ I. Krauskopf ricorda puntualmente anche come già L. Banti avesse ricollegato i bronzi di Palestrina e Fabbrecce ad ambito vetuloniese (Krauskopf 2014, 17, nota 12).
- ⁴⁹ Papi 2007, 2014a.
- ⁵⁰ L'affinità tra i gruppi Vetulonia e Capena è stata rilevata a partire da Colonna 1974 fino ai più recenti Weidig/Weidig 2011; Papi 2014; Cianferoni 2014; Weidig 2016, tutti con riferimenti.

- ⁵¹ Cianferoni 2014: la studiosa sottolinea che sarebbe necessario un riesame anche dei dischi di St. Louis per verificare la presenza di rientranze laterali, forse da estendersi anche ad alcuni esemplari attribuiti al gruppo Capena a questo punto.
- ⁵² Weidig 2016.
- ⁵³ Maggiani 2005.
- ⁵⁴ Colonna 1974, 2007; Papi 1990; Tomedi 2000.
- ⁵⁵ Weidig 2016.
- ⁵⁶ Cfr. *supra*, Weidig non fa riferimento al contributo di I. Damiani ma giunge per altra via a conclusioni sostanzialmente analoghe.
- ⁵⁷ Cfr. *supra*, Papi 2007, 2014a.
- ⁵⁸ Weidig 2016. Per quanto riguarda esseri definiti più correttamente come 'chimere-dragoni' Morandini 2016.
- ⁵⁹ Tagliamonte 2003, 543, nota 59. Inoltre anche Papi 1999, 122. A titolo esemplificativo si possono ricordare i casi dei Piceni in rapporto con il picchio (*picus*) e gli Irpini con il lupo (*hirpus*). Per una rassegna delle fonti sul *ver sacrum* De Cazanove 2000.
- ⁶⁰ Weidig 2016.
- ⁶¹ Si vedano ad esempio Percossi Serenelli 1992; Tagliamonte 2003; Papi 2007 che ipotizza addirittura uno stupro bestiale di un guerriero sconfitto o Weidig 2016 che opta per una ierogamia tra una donna e un animale sacro.
- ⁶² Ad esempio nella glittica, cfr. Giovanelli 2016.
- ⁶³ Lo Schiavo et al. 2013, 208-209, con riferimenti. Sui *desultores* nel mondo preromano si vedano Thuillier 1989 e Martinelli 2007, 104-117. Raffigurazioni di possibili acrobati a cavallo ci sono anche su frammenti in impasto da Spoleto, Piazza d'Armi (Weidig 2015, 64, fig. 7).
- ⁶⁴ Lo Schiavo et al. 2013.
- ⁶⁵ Giovanelli 2016: si vedano ad esempio un sigillo proveniente dall'area sacrificale a nord del santuario di Apollo ad Eretria. Un'analoga figura maschile itfallica è presente anche su uno scaraboide di Murlo
- ⁶⁶ Tagliamonte 2003.
- ⁶⁷ Hughes 2010, 109.
- ⁶⁸ Biella et al. 2012; Biella/Giovanelli 2016.
- ⁶⁹ Harari 2016.
- ⁷⁰ Biella 2012; Giovanelli 2012.
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Beyond *Polis* Religion: Religious Practices in the Cosmopolitan *Emporion* of Naukratis

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Abstract

*This article compares Naukratis to other Greek emporia in the Mediterranean in order to explore religion in cosmopolitan settlements: Did individuals' choices of what gods to worship relate to the settlements' multi-ethnic and commercial nature? How did religious practices change in these communities? Did religion impart new ways of organizing society and structuring the polis? The article shows the competing religious discourses in Greek emporia, and argues that religious practices were fluid, led to religious innovation, and actively shaped politics, trade, and even the polis itself.**

Naukratis is arguably the most famous and much-discussed Greek commercial settlement, or *emporion*, after Peiraeus, the port of Attica. It was a multiethnic community, and, as such, was host to a resident population of Egyptians, Carians, Cypriots, and Greeks from different city-states, among others. At the same time, Naukratis was a full-fledged *polis*, at least from the early 6th century BCE onwards. The majority of the excavated areas in Naukratis consists of sanctuaries, the material culture is primarily of a religious nature, and, most of the information preserved in literary sources pertains to temples, festivals, and religious practices. Lamentable as the current lack of in-depth knowledge about the residential parts of Naukratis or its political and commercial activities may be, Naukratis is remarkable in that it offers an opportunity to examine religion in cosmopolitan settings. Such an enterprise is significant, as it seeks to explore aspects of ancient Greek religion beyond the *polis* and to examine religious practices within a wider, Mediterranean context.

POLIS RELIGION

Ever since Fustel de Coulanges, and inspired by cultural anthropology, modern scholarship has viewed religion primarily as a symbolic system that ordered and provided coherence to ancient societies and cultures. At the same time, scholars have sought to order and provide coherence to ancient religious systems. But the latter are often messier and more complex than we might want to admit. The most powerful interpretive model that has dominated scholarship on ancient Mediterranean religions is that of '*polis* religion'.¹ The term '*polis* religion' was coined by Christiane

Sourvinou-Inwood, one of the most prominent Hellenists, and outlined in great detail in what are perhaps the two most influential articles in recent decades on Greek religion.² For Sourvinou-Inwood and most of the scholarship after her, 'the *polis* provided the fundamental framework in which Greek religion operated. Each *polis* was a religious system which formed part of the more complex world-of-the-*polis* system, interacting with the religious systems of the other *poleis* and with the Panhellenic religious dimension; thus direct and full participation in religion was reserved for citizens, that is, those who made the community which articulated the religion.'³ In other words, the *polis*-religion model states that membership in a cult was exclusive: the *polis* determined who had and who did not have the right to participate in specific cults, and city-states usually had clearly prescribed religious practices which varied from *polis* to *polis*. When it comes to cults that transcended the *polis*, such as those associated with panhellenic sites (e.g. Olympia, Delphi) or panhellenic events (e.g. the Panathenaia at Athens), Sourvinou-Inwood argued that the *polis* mediated an individual's participation in panhellenic cult and thus concluded that '*polis* religion embraces, contains, and mediates all religious discourse.'⁴

The interpretive power of the *polis*-religion model lies in its efficacy in situating all religious practices, from the individual to the panhellenic levels, within the realm of civic and political discourse. It is an all-encompassing model that privileges public or civic cults, which co-opted both individual and collective experiences. For instance, in Athens, rites of passage that marked the transition between boyhood and adulthood (the *arrhephoria*) were conducted at the deme level, a geo-

graphic and political unit that determined citizenship. In this way, an individual boy's or his family's experience is subsumed under the collective group of the *polis* because the festival takes place in and is organized by a political entity (the *deme*). The festival both maintains the integrity of the *polis* by incorporating new men in the citizen body and links personal identity with civic identity through religious practice. Similarly, an individual consulting the oracle at Delphi, a panhellenic sanctuary, had to follow a procedure that involved the *polis*: the order in which individuals consulted the oracle was determined according to their *polis* of origin. Thus, even in sanctuaries that transcended the city-state, the *polis* was the entity that articulated how religious practices were to take place. These are only two examples, but they show why the *polis*-religion model was pervasive in antiquity and has been persuasive in modernity.

My aim in this article is not to disprove this model, which obviously does explain many Greek religious practices and the symbolism of the rituals they entailed. Rather my goal is twofold. First, I investigate an example that the *polis*-religion model fails to explicate fully, namely the practice of religion in cosmopolitan settlements. Second, in so doing, I reveal the complexity of Greek religion by demonstrating how competing religious discourses, including civic religion, played out in *emporia*.

Ever since the appearance of Sourvinou-Inwood's two articles on *polis* religion, scholars have taken up issue with various of its aspects.⁵ First of all, the *polis*-religion model assumes that the *polis* was the defining characteristic of the Greek world - a position entrenched in scholarship since the nineteenth century.⁶ This presumption elides all other forms of political organization that existed in the Greek world - *ethne*, leagues, associations, empires - and ignores how these polities could affect and be affected by religion. The premise that the Greek world was a world of *poleis* has had another consequence: it has limited the discussion of Greek religion to the archaic and classical periods because until very recently scholars tended to think that the *polis* decayed in the 4th century BCE and eventually disappeared by the Hellenistic period. Thus, handbooks of Greek religion or specific case-studies - usually geographic ones - often do not include a discussion of Hellenistic or Roman-period religious practices. But, the detailed and fundamental work of the Copenhagen Polis Centre has changed our understanding of what a *polis* was and has shown that *poleis* continued to exist well into the Hel-

lenistic and Roman periods.⁷ These are two limitations of *polis* religion that appear frequently in critiques of the model, namely that it only investigates Greek religion of the archaic and classical periods while at the same time ignoring the religious practices of polities that were not *poleis*.⁸

Other responses to the notion of *polis* religion have challenged the model's implied coherence and consistency within Greek religion. If religion was embedded in the *polis* and the *polis* articulated all religious practices, it follows that all individuals who were members of a *polis* shared equally knowledge of the community's religious practices. By extension, talking about 'Greek' religion implies that there is only one discourse that was comprehensible to all Greeks,⁹ thus ignoring local and regional variety in religious practices. Versnel contested the seeming coherence of Greek religion by discussing the various inconsistencies within that system, with the goal of emphasizing phenomena that *polis* religion typically excludes, such as henotheism.¹⁰ Likewise, the recognition that there are diverse and divergent identities within Greek societies (even within a single polity), enables us to challenge both the perception of Greek religion as a monolithic entity, as well as the idea that all individuals had the same knowledge of and experienced religious practices in the same way.¹¹ Another typical criticism of the *polis*-religion model, consequently, points out that it relegates religious discourses like magic, Orphism, domestic and household religion, or mystery cults to 'sectarian' cults in the words of Sourvinou-Inwood, 'unlicensed' cults in Parker's nomenclature, or 'elective' cults in Price's formulation.¹² To this list of religious practices we can also add the rarely-discussed notions of faith and personal belief, since scholarship on ancient Greek religion usually focuses on the performance of rituals rather than personal experiences of the divine.¹³

The most recent book that treats the subject of Greek religion comprehensively is Julia Kindt's *Rethinking Greek Religion*. In a series of stand-alone case-studies, Kindt demonstrates how looking at ancient sources on Greek religion from a perspective that is not limited to the *polis* reveals that Greek religious discourse unfolded in arenas other than the civic and political. Not surprisingly, adopting this approach means that the case-studies Kindt presents are specifically ones that fall outside the *polis*-religion model, by her own acknowledgment.¹⁴ Several other works that have questioned the limits of this all-pervasive interpretive model, have also done so through an examination of practices that the *polis*-religion model considers

marginal, such as magic¹⁵ or private cult.¹⁶ In part, Kindt's purpose in *Rethinking Greek Religion* was to advocate the need for a broader understanding of the religious in the ancient Greek world. A similar objective is shared by an on-going project funded by the European Research Council, called 'Lived Ancient Religions: Questioning "Cults" and "Polis Religion",' conceived and administered by J. Rüpke.¹⁷ The aim of this research program is to consider the individual, rather than cities, as the primary locus through which to examine 'lived' religion. The focus, more specifically, is on exploring sets of experiences and conceptions of the divine, as they emerged in social, political, and cultural contexts that were constantly changing.

These two observations, namely that the contexts in which religious discourses were negotiated and expressed were not static but fluid and that a comprehensive view of Greek religion should not include only situations that lie clearly outside the model of *polis* religion, are the starting points for this article. In addition, all the challenges to the *polis*-religion model, described above, see religion as an active agent that shaped Greek society. How it did so, however, is not something that these critiques discuss in detail.¹⁸ They also leave aside the question of how religious practices changed and why there was frequent innovation in ancient Mediterranean religions.¹⁹ What I propose to do in this article is to look at one particular kind of settlement that was at the same time a Greek *polis* and an *emporion* - a multiethnic commercial settlement.²⁰ *Emporia* enable us to shift our perspective from the *polis* to individuals and to fluid contexts produced by cosmopolitanism, and thus to account for changes in religious practices that are not explained by the *polis*-religion model. At the same time, because *emporia* were also self-governing *poleis*, they afford us the opportunity to study religion from a comprehensive point-of-view, one that includes civic and *polis* religion. The cosmopolitan nature of *emporia*, therefore, renders these settlements as perfect prisms from which to explore, on the one hand, competing religious discourses, and, on the other, religion beyond the *polis*.

Here, I will use primarily the case-study of the Greek *emporion* of Naukratis in Egypt to investigate Greek religion in cosmopolitan settings because of the abundant evidence regarding its religious practices. I will also refer extensively to the *emporion* of Gravisca in Etruria and to a lesser degree to Peiraeus in Athens, both of whose religious practices are also well-attested. While these sites serve as examples, I consider them representative

of one characteristic that all *emporia* and many *poleis* shared, namely their multiethnic character.²¹ It is this quality, I argue, that allows us to move beyond *polis* religion and to examine the dynamics of change and innovation in religious practices, as well as the ways in which religious discourse fashioned communities. Did multiethnic communities have divinities that they worshiped in common and shared sanctuaries where they performed religious rituals? Did individuals' choices of what gods to worship relate to the settlements' multiethnic and commercial nature? How did religious practices change in these communities? Did religion impart new ways of organizing society and even structuring the *polis*? I begin by showing that religious practices in multicultural settlements were fluid and created social contexts in which religious innovation could and did take place using the examples of Naukratis in Egypt and Gravisca in Etruria. Then, I discuss the cult of Aphrodite in both Gravisca and Naukratis, as well as the unique temple of the Hellenion in Naukratis, to show how religion itself changed because of the multiethnic nature of *emporia*. As way of conclusion, I elucidate the ways in which religion actively shaped politics, trade, and even the *polis*.

BEYOND *POLIS* RELIGION

Naukratis and Gravisca have often been compared to each other, and for good reason. Both were founded in the late 7th century BCE as Greek commercial settlements in non-Greek lands, both were dependent on the local authorities - the Egyptian pharaoh and the Etruscan city of Tarquinia respectively - but had a degree of autonomy, and in both sites most of the excavated areas revealed sanctuaries (figs 1-2).²² The sanctuaries in Naukratis are located within the *polis*, whereas the sanctuaries of Gravisca are extra-urban. In addition, both had a resident Greek population that came from various city-states in the Aegean circle (fig. 3). Identifying civic, ethnic, or other identities is not always a straightforward task. We are lucky that in Naukratis individuals often used their *ethnikon* (city-ethnic) to identify themselves as citizens of particular *poleis*, as discussed below. When such self-identification is not available, as in Gravisca for example, we have to resort to other types of evidence to identify the composition of a settlement's population, including: the alphabetic scripts used, which can at least provide a sense of what region and sometimes which *polis* an individual came from; ono-

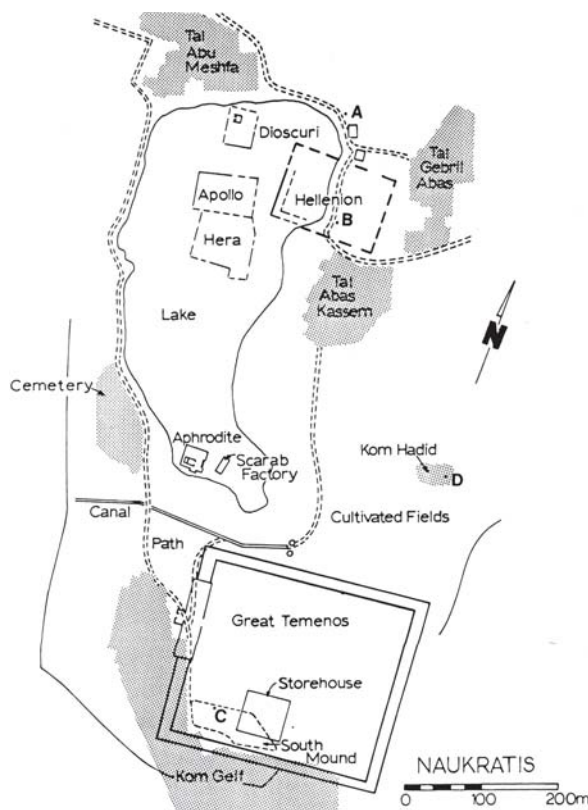


Fig. 1. Site plan of Naukratis
(after Coulson/Leonard/Wilkie 1982).

mastic evidence which often helps narrow down an individual's place or region of origin; and, although it is difficult to discern expressions of identity in the material record when no textual evidence is available, the examination of archaeological evidence can nonetheless provide some insights. In Gravisca, onomastic evidence and the alphabetic scripts used in dedicatory inscriptions discovered from the sacred areas indicate the presence of Samians, Aiginetans, and possibly Chians, Phokaians, and Milesians.²³ Also attested contemporaneously were Etruscans, who gave offerings to Etruscan deities in the Greek sanctuary,²⁴ and possibly Carians and Umbrians, who may be identified by their unusual names.²⁵

Information about the Greek population of Naukratis is more abundant and comes from both epigraphic evidence and Herodotus' famous description of the reorganization of the settlement under the Pharaoh Amasis in 570 BCE. Since this passage contains several details that I discuss more extensively below, I quote it here in its entirety:²⁶

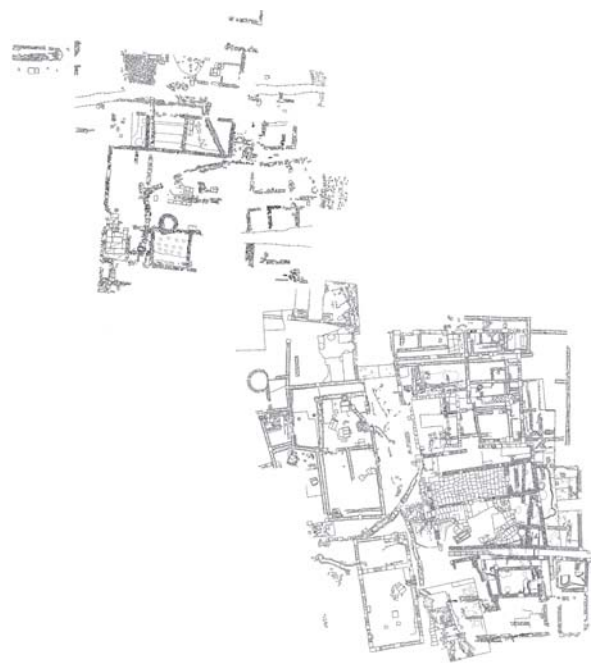


Fig. 2. Site plan of Gravisca (courtesy L. Fiorini).

Φιλλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἄμασις ἄλλα τε ἐς Ἑλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπικνεομένοισι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι· τοῖσι δὲ μὴ βουλομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐνοικεῖν, αὐτόσε δὲ ναυτιλλομένοισι ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιδρύσασθαι βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένεα θεοῖσι. Τὸ μὲν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος καὶ ὀνομαστότατον ἔδον καὶ χρησιμώτατον, καλεόμενον δὲ Ἑλλήνιον, αἶδε πόλεις εἰσι αἱ ἰδρυμέναι κοινῇ· Ἴώνων μὲν Χίος καὶ Τέως καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Κλαζομεναί, Δωριέων δὲ Ῥόδος καὶ Κνίδος καὶ Ἀλικαρνησὸς καὶ Φάσηλις, Αἰολέων δὲ ἡ Μυτιληναίων μούνη. Τοιούτων μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος, καὶ προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου αὐταὶ αἱ πόλεις εἰσι αἱ παρέχουσιν· ὅσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλεις μεταποιεῦνται, οὐδὲν σφι μετεὸν μεταποιεῦνται. χωρὶς δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἐπὶ ἐωυτῶν ἰδρύσαντο τέμενος Διός, καὶ ἄλλο Σάμιοι Ἥρης, καὶ Μιλήσιοι Ἀπόλλωνος.

When Amasis became a Philhellene, he granted some Greeks certain rights, and in particular he gave those who came to Egypt Naukratis, a *polis* in which to dwell. To those among them who were going to sea and did not wish to settle there he gave lands to erect altars and sanctuaries for the gods. The greatest of these sanctuaries, and the most famous and most visited, is the so-called Hellenion, set up jointly



Fig. 3. Map of the Mediterranean with Naukratis, Gravisca, and the participating poleis in both settlements.

by the following *poleis*: of the Ionians, Chios, Teos, Phokaia, and Klazomenai; of the Dorians, Rhodes, Knidos, Halikarnassos, and Phaselis; of the Aeolians only Mytilene. It is to these *poleis* that the sanctuary belongs and it is they who appoint the *prostatai* of the *emporion*. However many other *poleis* lay a claim to the Hellenion, they claim what does not belong them. The Aiginetans, however, founded separately a sanctuary for Zeus on their own initiative, the Samians one for Hera, and the Milesians one for Apollo.

The Greek population of Naukratis probably included Greeks from all the city-states that Herodotus mentions, who were responsible for administering the *emporion* and the Greek temples.²⁷ Dedicatory inscriptions discovered in the various sanctuaries reveal that Greeks self-identified primarily in terms of their civic identity. Men who mention their city-ethnic in their dedications are attested from Chios,²⁸ Teos,²⁹ Phokaia,³⁰ Klazomenai,³¹ Rhodes,³² and Mytilene.³³ Although no one from Knidos identified himself as such explicitly, Knidians can nonetheless be detected

from the alphabetic scripts they used on dedicatory inscriptions and were probably present in Naukratis.³⁴ Phaselians are recorded as entering Egypt, possibly heading to Naukratis, on an Egyptian tax register.³⁵ In addition to the Greek groups that Herodotus mentions in his account, there were also other Greek and non-Greek ethnic groups living in Naukratis, attested epigraphically or archaeologically. Cypriots are attested epigraphically,³⁶ and Carians may also have been present given that fragments of Carian pottery, which are otherwise only found in Caria, were discovered here.³⁷ Although Phoenicians lived in other areas in Egypt, such as Memphis, and were certainly traveling to Egypt as traders, at the moment we lack the evidence to claim that there were Phoenician residents in Naukratis.³⁸ The discussion on whether Egyptians lived in Naukratis in the archaic and classical periods has been contentious, but the Egyptian temple dedicated to Amon-Rê-Baded located just south of the temple to Aphrodite, dating from the seventh century onwards,³⁹ strongly suggests that Egyptians were a component of the multiethnic population of Naukratis from its foundation.

This brief survey of the demographics of Naukratis and Gravisca serves to show that both these communities were multiethnic and that their respective populations were composed of non-Greeks and Greeks who came from a variety of *poleis*, principally from the East Aegean. Because Herodotus' description of the sanctuaries at Naukratis is primarily structured around the *poleis* that founded them, Sourvinou-Inwood used this site as a prime example of how 'even in international contexts cult remained *polis*-based.' This conclusion was founded upon her interpretation of Herodotus' passage: 'some Greek cities singly set up sanctuaries that belonged to them and were 'their' *polis* shrines in a foreign land; others acting in combination set up a sanctuary called the Hellenion. But ... this was not a supra-*polis* 'Greek' shrine, but the common sanctuary of an *ad hoc* combination of cities, in which the *polis* was the basic unit.'⁴⁰ Subsequent scholars have also tried to understand the sanctuaries at Naukratis within the parameters of *polis* religion. Malkin, for example, following the *polis*-religion framework wonders which *polis*' sacred calendar and practices worshippers followed at the Hellenion.⁴¹ The picture is more complicated: when looked at more closely, *emporia* reveal a vibrant arena of competing religious discourses, including that of *polis* or civic religion.

The evidence from Naukratis, in fact, suggests that despite wide differences in cults and ritual practices of different *poleis*, all Greeks, regardless of their origin, could use any temple they liked. Thus, even though the sanctuaries in Naukratis

were set up by individual *poleis*, they were not open exclusively to citizens of that founding *polis* but rather to the whole of Naukratis' population.⁴² For example, although many of the inscribed offerings from the temple of Apollo, which Herodotus states was founded by Milesians, specify that they were dedicated to Apollo of Miletus, these dedications were not all made by Milesians. On the contrary, Chians⁴³ and Teians⁴⁴ who identify themselves with their city-ethnic (fig. 4), and Knidians⁴⁵ and Aiginetans⁴⁶



Fig. 5. Dedication by a Cypriot in the Hellenion. London, BM 1900,0214.17. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 6.]ω[|]ο Χίο[Dedication by a Chian in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Naukratis. London, BM 1888,0601.361. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 4.]Τήιος[Dedication by a Teian from the sanctuary of Apollo of Miletus in Naukratis. London, BM 1886,0401.271. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 7.]λε εμ[ε3]θεκε τᾷ Α(φροδί)ται ὁ Μυτιληναῖος[Dedication by a Mytilenean in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Naukratis. London, BM 1888,0601.634. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 8. *κεν: ταφρο[] Jo: ὁ Τήριος[* Dedication by a Teian in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Naukratis. London, BM 1886,0401.1261. © Trustees of the British Museum.

recognized as such by the script they used, gave offerings in this temple. This suggests that all Greeks could worship at the temple of Apollo in Naukratis, even though the god was specifically identified as being Milesian. Similarly, in the Hellenion, it was not only Greeks from the *poleis* that had jointly founded the temple who worshiped here - Rhodians⁴⁷ and Mytileneans⁴⁸ are attested - but also Cypriots who inscribed their dedications in the Cypriot syllabic script (fig. 5).⁴⁹ If instead we look at the dedicatory inscriptions from the temple of Aphrodite, which Herodotus does not mention, we find that the goddess received offerings from Chians,⁵⁰ Teians,⁵¹ and Mytileneans,⁵² all of whom identified themselves by using their individual city-ethnics (figs 6-8). Greeks from different *poleis*, therefore, used all the temples available to them.

Gravisca reveals a very similar situation to that of Naukratis, at least throughout the first and Greek phase of the site (600-480 BCE), since Etruscans occupied it exclusively in the subsequent phases of its existence.⁵³ In this Greek *emporion* located in Etruria, we find that Greeks and Etruscans used indiscriminately all the Greek sacred spaces, in which dedications were offered to Aphrodite, Hera, Apollo, Demeter, and either Zeus or the Dioskouroi. Unlike at Naukratis, none of the people who gave offerings at the Greek sanctuary in Gravisca identified themselves by using their city-ethnic and none of the sacred spaces were affiliated with particular *poleis*.⁵⁴ We are dependent, therefore, on a study of onomastics and the scripts used in inscriptions to identify the provenance of dedicators.⁵⁵ Such an analysis reveals that Carians⁵⁶ and Umbrians,⁵⁷ as well as many East Greeks, who cannot be identified more precisely, gave dedications to Hera. Aiginetans,⁵⁸ among other East Greeks, gave

dedications to Apollo, found scattered throughout the sacred areas of Gravisca. All the dedications to Aphrodite are written in Ionic scripts. An Etruscan dedication, dating to 550-525 BCE, to the goddess Turan, the Etruscan analogue of Aphrodite, was discovered right next to the building dedicated to Aphrodite⁵⁹ - the only one of the Gravisca cult-spaces that can be located with certainty.⁶⁰ For an Etruscan, Aphrodite took the name Turan and was perfectly acceptable as a divinity to worship. In the Mediterranean world, the gods of others were often seen as the same as one's own, only known by different names and attributes.

This brief exposition shows that the norm in *emporion* was that all sanctuaries offered open-access to all Greeks, regardless of their *polis* of origin, and even to non-Greeks. The multiethnic character of these settlements resulted in more fluid social contexts, in which individuals who could be immigrants, resident aliens, or traveling traders could participate in religious practices that were neither restricted to citizens or other political groups nor mediated by the *polis*. The ability to visit and use all sanctuaries, whether these were founded by a specific *polis*, such as the temples of Hera founded by Samos, Apollo founded by Miletus, or Zeus founded by Aigina, in Naukratis, the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Naukratis, or any of the sacred areas in Gravisca that were probably not linked to specific founding *poleis*, suggests that in cosmopolitan settlements religion worked in complicated ways. On the one hand, sanctuaries could be established by one *polis* in another, as we see in Naukratis. In this instance, some of the religious discourses in Naukratis were articulated by the *polis*. On the other hand, we see in both Naukratis and Gravisca the emergence of more flexible religious practices. Individuals who came from different places were able to give offerings in and use any of the sacred spaces seemingly without any restrictions imposed by any *polis*. Such practices which are clearly beyond *polis* religion could be termed 'cosmopolitan religion.'

A cosmopolitan world might have meant that the notion of citizenship was becoming contested. This may have been especially the case when many lived abroad and cities had significant immigrant, non-citizen populations. Indeed, in cosmopolitan settings religion was sometimes an outlet through which individuals expressed their civic identity. They did so by choosing to worship divinities that were particularly prominent in their city of origin. For instance, some of the pottery found in Hera's temple in Naukratis consists



Fig. 9. Hera cup with dipinto inscription from the sanctuary of Hera at Naukratis. London, BM 1888,0601.402. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 10. vac. 'Υβλήσ[Dedication by Hyblesios at the sanctuary of Hera at Naukratis. London, BM 1888,0601.243. © Trustees of the British Museum.

of the so-called Hera cups, which have only been discovered in the temples of Hera in Naukratis and on Samos (fig. 9).⁶¹ Chemical analysis of the clay has shown that they were all produced on Samos.⁶² The Hera cups, therefore, which are thought to have been cultic equipment used in ritual dining,⁶³ preserve the religious traditions of the *polis* that founded this temple, and were probably dedicated by Samians.⁶⁴ Offering these cups in Hera's temple in Naukratis, however, neither implies that a Samian had limited access to the other sanctuaries in Naukratis nor that he was restricted to offering dedications only in a temple founded by his *polis* of origin. Instead, such con-

tinuities of cult are better understood as expressions of the dedicator's Samian identity.

Samians also gave dedications to Hera in Gravisca. A certain Hyblesios who gave an inscribed offering to Hera⁶⁵ was originally identified as a Phaselian,⁶⁶ but the fact is that this name is extremely rare and appears predominantly (sixteen of a total of nineteen occurrences) on inscriptions from Samos.⁶⁷ Hyblesios, therefore, was probably from Samos rather than Phaselis. Another dedication also by a Samian named Hyblesios was excavated from the sanctuary of Hera at Naukratis (fig. 10).⁶⁸ Torelli has suggested that given the similar date of the two votives (ca 550 BCE), the rarity of the name Hyblesios, and the fact that both dedications were made in commercial settlements, it is possible that the same man, an itinerant trader, made both dedications.⁶⁹ The dedication of objects in two separate sacred spaces of Hera in Naukratis and Gravisca, whether by the same Samian or not, is significant. Although a Greek from anywhere in the Greek world could make a dedication to the goddess, a Samian may have used her cult-spaces to express a Samian identity when away from home. Dedications in *emporia*, therefore, could be used to express an individual's civic identity, even while sanctuaries offered open-access to different Greek groups and non-Greeks. This is yet another example of how ancient Greek religion was not monolithic but rather a multifaceted symbolic medium through which identities were negotiated.

NEW RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN MULTIETHNIC EMPORIA

The flexibility of Greek religion, especially as it was articulated in multicultural *emporia* outside the framework of *polis* religion, was also formative in the recognition that some divinities were common to all Greeks and led to the emergence of new religious practices and collective identities. The cult of Aphrodite in Gravisca and Naukratis offers a fruitful example. In both *emporia* the *naiskos* dedicated to Aphrodite was the earliest built: in Naukratis ca 600 BCE⁷⁰ and in Gravisca ca 580 BCE.⁷¹ In both *emporia* the finds from the goddess' temples vary greatly in terms of style, representation, and function; in fact, what is characteristic in these sanctuaries is the lack of uniformity among the finds. In Gravisca, for instance, Aphrodite's temple has yielded over the hundred years of its use by Greeks, statuettes of women, banqueters, and animals, two bronze statuettes of an armed goddess, unguent boxes depicting a

seated goddess, Egyptian scarabs and faience bottles depicting the Egyptian gods Bes or Horus, a plaque with a nude kneeling female, and fragments from about twelve stone anchors, among other objects.⁷² A similar variety of offerings was discovered in Aphrodite's sanctuary in Naukratis.⁷³ These include lamps, statues and statuettes of athletes, armed men, flute-players, hunters, animals, female figures holding flowers, women holding or nursing children, and the Egyptian god Bes.⁷⁴ The absence of specificity in the assemblages from these two temples dedicated to Aphrodite seems to be typical of coastal sanctuaries, in general, including those established in *emporion*.⁷⁵ Just as anyone, regardless of his place of origin or ethnicity could use any temple, so, too, there was



Fig. 11. Bes Relief from Naukratis. London, BM 1886,0401.1579. © Trustees of the British Museum.

no specialization in what one could offer to divinities. Rather, these spaces were multifunctional, allowing worshippers to venerate the gods in whatever manner they chose.

The capacity for religious innovation in these settlements, therefore, was great. More importantly, changes in religious practices did not remain isolated in *emporion* but rather spread far and wide throughout the Mediterranean. Individuals who experienced religion in these fluid contexts became active agents in transmitting new practices elsewhere. The appearance of Egyptian objects in Greek temples of Aphrodite, as the ones discussed here, or in seaside sanctuaries, such as that of Hera on Samos, serves as a good illustration.⁷⁶ Egyptian finds, which are attested in sanctuaries throughout the Greek world, probably did not bear their original meanings in the Greek temples they were offered, but rather were dedicated as *exotica* to demonstrate the owner's prestige.⁷⁷ The particular example of Bes figurines (fig. 11), however, signifies something else. Though originally an Egyptian nursing divinity, Greeks translated Bes into the Greek religious language and adopted him as a male kourtophobic, or nursing, deity.⁷⁸ In the adoption of a foreign god and the introduction of his worship in Greek sanctuaries outside Egypt by Greeks, we have a first example of how religious practices changed because of the cosmopolitan character of *emporion* and the Mediterranean as a whole.

A second example may be found in the dozen votive anchors found in Aphrodite's building in Gravisca, which were probably offered to Aphrodite because she was one of the patron divinities of navigation.⁷⁹ Aphrodite's cultic epithets, attested throughout the Mediterranean from the archaic to the Hellenistic period, point to the goddess' role as a protector of navigation and harbors: she is called 'Euploia' (Smooth Sailing),⁸⁰ 'Galeaia' (Calmer),⁸¹ 'Epilimonia' (On the Harbor),⁸² 'Pontia' (Of the Sea),⁸³ and 'Pontia kai Limenia' (Of the Sea and the Harbor).⁸⁴ Aphrodite's sanctuaries were also frequently located on the shore or near harbors,⁸⁵ including in Peiraeus, the *emporion* of Attica.⁸⁶ In Naukratis the temple might have been situated close to the Kanobic branch of the Nile, according to the most recent excavation reports.⁸⁷

Aphrodite's role as a protector of sailing extended naturally to traders, and this might explain why Aphrodite was the first divinity to have a *naiskos* constructed in Gravisca and a temple in Naukratis. Inscriptions show that traders gave dedications to the goddess as thanks for her

help both in navigation and trade. In the sanctuary on Kos, for example, boat-owners and traders had to perform sacrifices and give payments to Aphrodite Pontia upon safe return from their ventures.⁸⁸ Thirteen boat-owners offered a dedication to Aphrodite in Messina on Sicily⁸⁹ and on Delos a trader from Askalon offered a dedication to Aphrodite Ourania because she saved him from pirates.⁹⁰ In 4th-century Halikarnassos, a trader dedicated a statue to Aphrodite because she was responsible for the profits he made.⁹¹ One epigram, in which a trader addresses Aphrodite as a 'guardian of all navigation' (τῆς πάσης ναυτικῆς φύλαξ), makes it clear that in exchange for the goddess' help in his trading ventures the merchant would consider her a shareholder of his ship and, by implication, of the profits earned from its cargo.⁹² This aspect of Aphrodite's worship can also be seen in a story quoted by Athenaios. A trader named Herostratos sailed to Naukratis via Paphos on Cyprus, where he bought a statuette of Aphrodite from the goddess' temple. When the ship was caught in a storm the sailors turned for safety to Aphrodite's statue, which sprouted with myrtle branches that produced an aroma soothing the sailors' seasickness and helping them make it to land. Herostratos promptly dedicated the statuette he had bought from Paphos at the temple of Aphrodite in Naukratis as thanks for the goddess' help.⁹³

All these tidbits offered by epigraphic evidence throughout the Mediterranean, as well as anecdotes in Greek literature that record dedications to Aphrodite for her patronage of navigation, can help us imagine how this goddess came to be worshiped in *emporia*, such as Naukratis, Gravisca, Peiraieus, and elsewhere. Giving thanks to a divinity for her help in sailing and trading was at first probably not imposed top down by the political apparatus of a *polis*. Such thanksgiving acts were probably carried out on a personal level, repeated multiple times by many individuals in contexts that were flexible and fluid, until eventually it became the norm to worship Aphrodite as a goddess of sailors and traders and to give her primacy in commercial settlements. Religious innovation, therefore, could often begin as individual or private practice before it became adopted officially by a political entity.⁹⁴

Aphrodite's capacity to preside over ports and to offer safe sailing and good profits, two elements necessary for trade, are important in understanding the goddess' central role in *emporia*, as mentioned above. To emphasize the goddess' maritime powers and patronage on the sea is not to say that she was



Fig. 12. *Τη Πανδήμω* Dedication to Aphrodite Pandemos from the Hellenion at Naukratis. London, BM 1900,0214.6. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 13. *Πανδήμω* Dedication to Aphrodite Pandemos from the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Naukratis. London, BM 1888,0601.211. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 14. *vac. Εὐκλῆς ἀνέθηκεν ἱερὴν τηφροδίτῃ* Dedication to Aphrodite Hierē from the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Naukratis. London, BM 1888,0601.422. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 15. [ο[...]]τη: τῇ ἐν Ναυκρατί] Dedication to Aphrodite who is in Naukratis from the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Naukratis. London, BM 1888,0601.531. © Trustees of the British Museum.

worshiped for this aspect only. Aphrodite's guardianship of sailors was never separated from her role as a deity of sex and reproduction, as the statuettes of nude women, nursing women, and the Egyptian divinity Bes, found in Aphrodite's sanctuaries in Gravisca and Naukratis show. The lack of specialization in these sacred spaces in multicultural settlements has further support in Naukratis, where Greeks worshiped Aphrodite under several epithets. Inscribed dedications show that she was venerated as Aphrodite Pandemos (figs. 12-13),⁹⁵ Aphrodite Hiere (fig. 14),⁹⁶ and Aphrodite who is in Naukratis (fig. 15).⁹⁷ Greeks who identified themselves as originating from different places could venerate Aphrodite under various epithets and for a variety of reasons. Put differently, the sanctuary to Aphrodite was common to all, an apt translation of her epithet Pandemos.⁹⁸ One could interpret this cult-name in another way. In Athens, Aphrodite Pandemos had the political role of providing civic harmony and unity to the citizen body.⁹⁹ This role would have been much needed in a commercial settlement located in a non-Greek land, where Greeks from many *poleis* came together, cooperated in trade, ran the *emporion*, administered the temples, and formed a self-governing *polis*, albeit one dependent on the Egyptian authorities.¹⁰⁰ As a divinity whose worship transcended *polis* religion, as I have argued above, it was possible in multiethnic settlements to recognize that Aphrodite was something all Greeks had in common, since Greeks everywhere worshiped her as a goddess of navigation, a deity of sex and reproduction, and a guardian of civic harmony. But, flexible religious practices did more than simply lead to recognition of similarities. The veneration of Aphrodite as a divinity that provided social and civic cohesion to a settlement shaped not only how Greeks conceptualized their commonalities but also how they constructed the notion of citizenry and what held it together. Religion, therefore, did not just mediate among different groups; rather, it actively shaped the social and political character of settlements.

RELIGION AND THE *POLIS* REVISITED

The preceding discussion on the veneration of Aphrodite in *emporion* has shown that one of the advantages of looking at religion in *emporion* is precisely that it affords us a comprehensive perspective from which to examine all religious discourse, *polis* religion or otherwise. The worship of the goddess as a patron of safe sailing and trade probably began as private religion - e.g. of traders and sailors. But once it was transferred to permanent settlements, such as *emporion*, it was able to give cohesion to the population of Naukratis and even integrate it into a citizen body. The temple in Naukratis that Herodotus describes as the most famous and most visited, called the Hellenion, offers another example when religion emerges as a polyvalent medium for different political discourses. As noted above, the Hellenion was a sanctuary that Herodotus describes as being founded by *poleis*, a statement which Sourvinou-Inwood took to indicate that this temple was not a supra-*polis* sanctuary. Nonetheless, as I have argued, this sanctuary offered open access to all Greeks, regardless of their *polis* of origin, and thus operated beyond *polis* religion. On another level, its very name - which surely cannot be accidental - suggests that it symbolized the coalescence of something that was much broader than a polity, namely a sense of Hellenic identity. Yet, this temple that was common to all Greeks, also came to symbolize specifically the *polis* of Naukratis vis-à-vis the Greek world. A final element that illustrates the complexity of religious practices and the difficulty in coming up with a single overarching interpretive model, is that despite the fluid and changing social context of *emporion* that encouraged dynamic processes of religious innovation, there were instances when political entities did regulate religion. This, however, should not be surprising: *polis* religion existed alongside and competed with other forms of religious discourse. It is to these issues I turn to, in the remaining pages.

The Hellenion is a fascinating sanctuary: there is nothing like it from anywhere else in the Greek world at that time. It was originally identified by Hogarth and dated to ca 570 BCE (fig. 16).¹⁰¹ Dedications to individual gods, such as Aphrodite,¹⁰² Artemis,¹⁰³ Herakles,¹⁰⁴ Apollo,¹⁰⁵ the Dioskouroi,¹⁰⁶ and Poseidon,¹⁰⁷ along with fragmentary dedications that can be restored as 'to the gods of the Greeks' were discovered here.¹⁰⁸ The formula 'to the gods of the Greeks' (θεοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλήνων) is unique and not attested in any other text, epigraphic or otherwise (fig. 17). It also offers one of the earliest attestations of the noun that signifies the

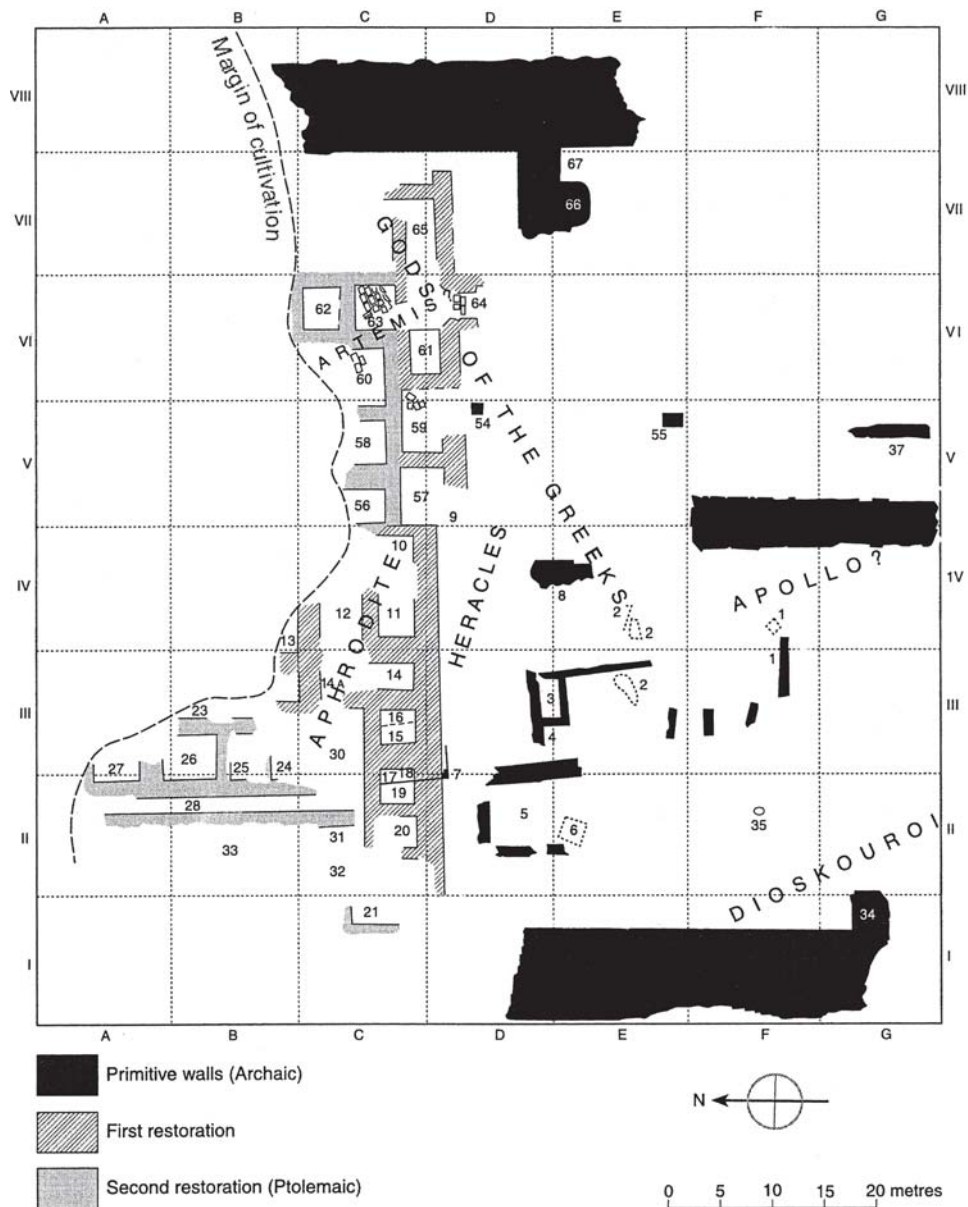


Fig. 16. Plan of the Hellenion (courtesy Möller 2000).

collective group of Greeks,¹⁰⁹ and therefore one of the first expressions of Hellenicity in the whole of the Greek world. Grouped together in one settlement by the Egyptian authorities which did not distinguish among different groups of Greeks, the Naukratite Greeks started to see themselves as Hellenes, and actively constructed and expressed this new identity through their joint foundation of the Hellenion, where they worshiped in common both individual Greek gods and collectively 'the gods of the Greeks.' Even if the Hellenion was founded and

administered jointly by *poleis*, the fact that it offered open access to all Greeks and that it led to the coalescence of a collective Greek identity shows how religious practices in this temple transcended *polis* religion.

Religious forces, especially in cosmopolitan *emporion*, did not only mediate among Greeks from a variety of backgrounds and between Greeks and non-Greeks, leading to the construction of new identities; religion also actively shaped the *polis*. We have already seen how the worship of Aphrodite in



Fig. 17. ἸΕλλήνων : θε[ε]οῖς .[.].[.]. Dedication to the gods of the Greeks from the Hellenion. London, BM 1900,0214.8. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Naukratis contributed to imagining the civic body as such. The jointly founded temple of the Hellenion shows how a similar process led to an external recognition of Naukratis as a *polis*. Epigraphic evidence demonstrates that the Hellenion was identified abroad as the civic center of Naukratis. A Rhodian decree bought in Cairo, of unknown provenance, dating to between 440-411 BCE, honors a man called Damoxenos by making him a *proxenos* of the city of Lindos on Rhodes and awarding him and his descendants tax exemptions for importing and exporting goods. The text of the inscription also dictates the erection of the decree in the Hellenion in Egypt.¹¹⁰

The council and the people decided; Despon was the secretary, Archeanax made the proposition: to inscribe Damoxenos, son of Hermion, living in Egypt (ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντα), as a *proxenos* and benefactor of the Lindians, in the temple of Athenaia, and to grant him and his descendants exemption from import and export taxes both in war and peace; and, that Polykles, son of Halipolis should also inscribe this in Egypt in the Hellenion (ἀγγράψαι δὲ καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν τῷ[ι] Ἑλλανίῳ); and, that this decree should be inscribed on a stone stele.

Despite the fact that Naukratis is not mentioned in the text, no other temple in Egypt was known by the same name at that time, which suggests that the Hellenion the decree refers to must be the Hellenion in Naukratis. Setting up decrees of a political nature in a temple is not unusual but

it is important because it means that, at least from the Greek perspective, the sanctuary of the Hellenion symbolized the *polis* of Naukratis vis-à-vis the wider Greek world. At the same time, the Hellenion was famous overseas because it was a locus of Hellenicity for the Greek residents of Egypt: hence the text describes the honorand as a person residing in Egypt and locates the temple in Egypt, and not specifically in Naukratis. Ultimately this temple seems to have contributed to the construction of Naukratis as a *polis* and its recognition as such both at home and abroad. The temple of the Hellenion, therefore, represents at the same time the first manifestation of a collective Greek identity and the *polis* of Naukratis.

The relationship between religious practices and the *polis* can be nuanced even further. A tension is already apparent between, on the one hand, the ways in which Greeks expressed civic identities in sanctuaries - e.g. Samians worshiping in Hera's sanctuary in Naukratis, founded by Samos - and, on the other hand, the ways in which the flexibility of Greek religion and religious practices enabled Greeks (and non-Greeks) to transcend *polis* identity and construct new collective identities through the recognition of commonalities - e.g. the expression of Hellenicity in the Hellenion in Naukratis. A similar contradiction exists between the notion that the *polis* articulated religious practices - e.g. specific *poleis* founded specific sanctuaries in Naukratis - and the notion that religion was an agent that structured and actively shaped the *polis* - e.g. the imagining of Naukratis as a state both at home and abroad through the worship of Aphrodite and the gods of the Greeks. In this light, it is significant that Herodotus' description of the political reorganization of Naukratis concerns itself mostly with religious matters, as mentioned in the beginning of this article. Amasis' grant to the Greek traders of Naukratis of sites where they could worship their divinities explicitly regulates the Greeks' religious practices. The pharaoh's intervention exactly parallels the Athenian state's grant to groups of foreigners of the right to own land for the stated purpose of building on it a sanctuary. For example, one Athenian decree, dating to 333/332 BCE, records that a group of Kitian traders from Cyprus had requested from the Athenian assembly to be given land on which to establish a sanctuary dedicated to Aphrodite, citing as precedent an earlier grant of land given to Egyptians living in Athens, on which they had built a temple dedicated to Isis.¹¹¹ According to lines 33-45 of the inscription, the Athenian assembly agreed to the Kitians' request:

Since they decided that the Kitian traders (οἱ ἔμποροι οἱ Κιτιεῖς) were making a lawful request in demanding that the *demos* grant them the right to own land (ἔνκτησον) on which to establish a sanctuary of Aphrodite, it was resolved by the *demos* to grant the traders among the Kitians the right to own land (δοῦναι τοῖς ἐμπόροις τῶν Κιτιέων ἔνκτησι[ν] χ[ω]ρίου) on which to establish the sanctuary of Aphrodite, just as the Egyptians founded one for Isis.

There are several noteworthy points to be made about this inscription found in Peiraieus. First, it constitutes the only evidence that Isis was worshipped in Athens. Second, while the decree does not mention whether the Egyptians who had built the temple to Isis were traders or not, it does specify that the Kitians who requested that they be given land to establish a sanctuary of Aphrodite were. Moreover, a closer look at lines 39-40 reveals that the Athenian assembly gave the land grant specifically to the traders among the Kitians, implying that this was but one subgroup of Kitians present in Athens. This is similar to the distinction that Amasis made between the Greeks who lived in Naukratis and those who traveled to it. More to the point for the purposes of the argument presented here, state land grants attested in both Naukratis and Athens demonstrate how the central authorities of states could intervene in and administer the religious practices of the foreign residents living in their midst.

Host governments could also enforce religious practices upon resident aliens that reflected and maintained existing political power relations. For example, Nektanebo (Nekhtnebef), a pharaoh of the 30th Dynasty (380-362 BCE) erected two nearly identical *stelai*, one in Naukratis and another at Thonis/Herakleion located at the mouth of the Canopic branch in the Nile Delta. The *stelai* record that a 10% tax on all imports from the Mediterranean at Thonis/Herakleion and a 10% tax on production of goods at Naukratis had to be paid at the temple of the goddess Neith in Sais.¹¹² Neith was typically associated with the floodwaters of the Nile, but on this *stelai* she is described as the mistress of the ocean who bestows its bounty. This is appropriate in a text which states that Greek traders in Egypt who were importing and exporting goods by sea ought to pay taxes at this Egyptian goddess' sanctuary. By means of this action, the Egyptian government regulated not only commercial affairs carried out by Greeks but also established for them particular modes of worship that explicitly recognized the authority of the Egyptian state.

CONCLUSION

The diversity of religious practices in Naukratis, Gravisca, Peiraieus, and other *emporía* reveals a complex relationship between religion and the *polis* that tests the limits of the *polis* religion model. While the last few examples discussed show that host societies could regulate and sometimes even dictate some of the religious practices of resident aliens, religion did not just serve the function of maintaining political relationships or mediating among different groups. Thus, while *polis* religion remains a viable model through which to understand some religious practices, I hope to have shown that it does not explain all of them. I have made the case that multiethnic settlements offer us a comprehensive glimpse into the various religious discourses that were competing with one another and that helped structure communities. Religion may have had characteristics that were particular to a *polis* or a region, but dynamic processes of co-optation and adaptability meant that such characteristics were often transcended, especially in multiethnic settlements. Sacred spaces were open to all Greeks, regardless of their origin, as well as non-Greeks, and participation in cults in *emporía* was not restricted. Further, the cosmopolitanism that characterized these settlements led to religious innovation, such as the worship of Aphrodite in *emporía* as a patron of navigation and the veneration of the gods of the Greeks in Naukratis as a way to express Hellenicity. In addition, as a phenomenon embedded within a particular cultural system, religion had agency in shaping that cultural system. We can see this manifested in the cult of Aphrodite and the temple of the Hellenion, which expressed new identities and afforded cohesion and unity to the population of cosmopolitan settlements. These cults also contributed to the definition of these settlements as *poleis* and even came to symbolize the body politic. The fluid religious practices in *emporía* and the resulting religious innovations, therefore, had broader repercussions in Greek religion as they provided the impetus for the nascence of new political identities and, indeed, constructed the *polis* itself.

NOTES

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- ¹ This is especially the case in Anglophone and Francophone scholarship. See De Polignac 1984; Sourvinou-Inwood 2000a and 2000b; Bruit Zaidman/Schmitt Pantel 1992.
- ² Sourvinou-Inwood 2000a and 2000b.
- ³ Sourvinou-Inwood 2000a, 13.
- ⁴ Sourvinou-Inwood 2000a, 15 and 20.
- ⁵ For an excellent summary of these critiques, especially by scholars working on Greek religion, see Kindt 2009 and 2012, 12-35. Harrison 2015 reviews several works that have appeared recently on Greek religion. It is interesting to note that it is Roman historians who have challenged the *polis*-religion model most extensively: see Woolf 1997; Bendlin 2000; Rüpke 2004.
- ⁶ Vlassopoulos 2007.
- ⁷ Hansen 2000, 11-34; Hansen/Nielsen 2004, 16-22, 39-46; Hansen 2006b, 48-50.
- ⁸ See, for example, Kindt 2009 and 2012, 27-30, 32-34; Morgan 2003; Woolf 1997, 73-74.
- ⁹ A good example of such a work is Walter Burkert's *Greek Religion*.
- ¹⁰ Versnel 1990 and 1993.
- ¹¹ Ober 2005.
- ¹² Sourvinou-Inwood 2000b, 42; Parker 2005, 116-135; Price 1999, 108-125. See also Kindt 2012, 23-25.
- ¹³ Kindt 2012, 30-32 and 2015.
- ¹⁴ Kindt 2012, 191-192.
- ¹⁵ Bremmer 2010.
- ¹⁶ Woolf 1997; Bendlin 2000.
- ¹⁷ Rüpke has been one of the main critics of the *polis* religion model. See, for example, Rüpke 2004. A detailed description of the 'Lived Ancient Religions' project may be found at: https://www.uni-erfurt.de/fileadmin/public-docs/Max-Weber-Kolleg/6-pdfs/projekte/2012-Ruepke_Lived_anc_rel.pdf.
- ¹⁸ For instance, Kindt 2009 and 2012 do not explore the dynamics of how religion shaped society.
- ¹⁹ Woolf 1997, 76.
- ²⁰ Hansen's fundamental work on *emporia* reveals that all settlements that ancient sources called an *emporion* were self-governing albeit dependent Greek *poleis* located in non-Greek lands. See Hansen 2006a and Demetriou 2011 and 2012, 18-20.
- ²¹ Demetriou 2011, 265-268.
- ²² For information on the archaeology and history of Gravisca, see Torelli 1971a, 1971b, 1977, 1982, 1988, the sixteen volumes published in the series 'Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario greco' (especially, Fiorini 2005 and Fortunelli 2007), and Fiorini/Torelli 2010. The bibliography on Naukratis is much more extensive. Here, I mention only a selection of the main publications on the archaeology and history of the settlement: Petrie et al. 1886; Gardner 1888; Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-1899; Hogarth/Lorimer/Edgar 1905; Roebuck 1951; Coulson/Leonard/Wilkie 1982; Coulson 1996; Leonard 1997; Yoyotte 1982-1983, 1991-1992, 1993-1994, 1994-1995; Bowden 1996; Bresson 2000; Möller 2000; Höckmann/Kreikenbom 2001; Villing/Schlotzhauer 2006b. For extensive bibliography and information on past excavations at Naukratis, archaeological reports of current surveys, and illustrations of artifacts from Naukratis, see the British Museum's website, 'Naukratis: the Greeks in Egypt,' (https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/naukratis_the_greeks_in_egypt.aspx [August 16, 2016]). Demetriou 2012 discusses both of these *emporia* in more detail.
- ²³ Solin 1981; Ehrhardt 1985; Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 24-27 and 47; Demetriou 2012, 78-81.
- ²⁴ Torelli 1977, 398-404.
- ²⁵ Lethaios and Paktyes may be Carians, and Ombrikos an Umbrian. See Torelli 1977; Solin 1981; Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 25; Demetriou 2012, 81-82.
- ²⁶ Herodotus 2.178. The translation is my own.
- ²⁷ Although Herodotus distinguishes between those who lived in Naukratis and those who frequented it, discerning this in the existing archaeological record is not possible. For the purposes of this paper, I consider that the various Greeks and non-Greeks attested in Naukratis are representative of its actual population.
- ²⁸ Gardner 1888, 63 no. 706 pl. 21, 64 no 757 pl. 21; Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-1899, 55 no 51 pl. 4 and no 60 pl. 5.
- ²⁹ Petrie et al. 1886, 61 no 209 pl. 32, 62 no 700 pl. 35; Gardner 1888, 64 no 758 pl. 21, 65 no 779 pl. 21, 68 no 876 pl. 20.
- ³⁰ Petrie et al. 1886, 62 no 666 pl. 35; Hogarth/Lorimer/Edgar 1905, 117 no 39.
- ³¹ Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-1899, 55 no 55a-b pl. 4.
- ³² Hogarth/Lorimer/Edgar 1905, 117 no 16.
- ³³ Gardner 1888, 65 nos 788-790 pl. 21.
- ³⁴ Möller 2000, 166-181.
- ³⁵ Brian/Descat 1998.
- ³⁶ Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-1899, 56 no 114 pl. 5; Hogarth/Lorimer/Edgar 1905, 117 no 38.
- ³⁷ Williams/Villing 2006.
- ³⁸ The presence of Phoenicians in Naukratis is contested. Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-1899, 50, Sullivan 1996, 187, and James 2003 argue that Phoenicians were present. Petrie et al. 1886, 22 and Möller 2000, 113-115 contend that they were not. There is one offering inscribed in Phoenician from the temple of Milesian Apollo (Petrie et al. 1886, no 244 pl. 33; Röllig 2006), but it is difficult to extrapolate securely from this a Phoenician presence in Naukratis.
- ³⁹ Yoyotte 1982-1983, 1991-1992, 1993-1994, 1994-1995; Muhs 1994; Leclère 2008.
- ⁴⁰ Sourvinou-Inwood 2000a, 17.
- ⁴¹ Malkin 2003.
- ⁴² There is no evidence that Greeks used the Egyptian sanctuary of Amon-Rê-Baded or that Egyptians used the Greek sanctuaries, even though Egyptian artifacts have been excavated from them.
- ⁴³ Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-1899, 55 no 51 pl. 4.
- ⁴⁴ Petrie et al. 1886, 61 no 209 pl. 32; Gardner 1888, 68 no 876 pl. 20.
- ⁴⁵ Petrie et al. 1886, 62 no 237 pl. 33.
- ⁴⁶ Möller 2000, 174-175.
- ⁴⁷ Bernand 1970, 707 no 659 pl. 27.1.
- ⁴⁸ Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-1899, 38.
- ⁴⁹ Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-1899, 56 no 114 pl. 5; Hogarth/Lorimer/Edgar 1905, 117 no 38.
- ⁵⁰ Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-1899, 55 no 60 pl. 5; Gardner 1888, 63 no 706 pl. 21, 64 no 757 pl. 21; Jeffery 1961, 343 no 43.
- ⁵¹ Petrie et al. 1886, 62 no 700 pl. 35, Gardner 1888, 64 no 758 pl. 21, 65 no 779 pl. 21.
- ⁵² Gardner 1888, 65 nos 788-790 pl. 21.
- ⁵³ Torelli 1977, 413-427.
- ⁵⁴ For a different opinion, see Haack 2007, who argues that Samians founded the sanctuary of Hera in Gravisca.
- ⁵⁵ For a list of the inscriptions from Gravisca and a discussion of the Greek scripts used, see Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 15-54.

- ⁵⁶ Inv. 74/8387, Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 17 no 7; Inv. II 12822, Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 18 no 24.
- ⁵⁷ Inv. 74/5, Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 18 no 22.
- ⁵⁸ Inv. unnum., Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 15 no 1; Inv. II 17049+, Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 19 no 54.
- ⁵⁹ Inv. 72/23122, Torelli 1977, 398-404.
- ⁶⁰ Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 24 and Demetriou 2012, 83-88. Haack 2007 suggests that the earliest sanctuary in Gravisca was dedicated to Hera.
- ⁶¹ Avramidou 2016, 58-59 has shown that attempts to associate other sanctuaries of Hera with Hera-pottery, namely at Perachora and Gravisca, are unfounded.
- ⁶² Jones 1986, 665; Mommsen et al. 2006.
- ⁶³ Kron 1984 and Schlotzhauer 2006. Avramidou 2016, argues that Hera-cups were not used for ritual dining but rather to measure and deliver alimentary payment for construction laborers working in Hera's temples on both Samos and in Naukratis.
- ⁶⁴ Chians may also have imported Chian chalices in Naukratis to use in ritual drinking, according to Marianne Bergeron's paper 'Greek Vase Offerings in Naukratis and Other Harbour Sanctuaries,' presented at the 'Naukratis in Context: Cults, Sanctuaries, and Offerings' workshop held at the British Museum in June 2013.
- ⁶⁵ Inv. 74/6; Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 17 no 9.
- ⁶⁶ Torelli 1982, 318-319; Johnston/Pandolfini 2000, 24.
- ⁶⁷ LGPN 1, 2, and 5A s.v. Ὑβλήσιος.
- ⁶⁸ Gardner 1988, 67 no 854 pl. 22; Bernard 1970, 693 no 502.
- ⁶⁹ Torelli 1982, 318-319.
- ⁷⁰ Gardner 1888, 33-34, 37; Möller 2000, 104.
- ⁷¹ Torelli 1977, 398-404.
- ⁷² Torelli 1977, 398-404.
- ⁷³ The excavations in Naukratis were carried out in a hurried fashion and by today's standards excavation reports are brief and incomplete. It is not always easy, or indeed possible, to talk about the archaeological context or how these finds varied over time. See Villing/Schlotzhauer 2006a, 3.
- ⁷⁴ Gardner 1888, 55-59.
- ⁷⁵ Marinatos 1996.
- ⁷⁶ Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985, 235-243.
- ⁷⁷ Marinatos 1996, 138; Duplouy 2006, 177-183. Of course, this holds especially true when Egyptian objects were dedicated in Greek sanctuaries outside of Egypt. We cannot be certain that similar dedications in Aphrodite's temple in Naukratis were given by Greeks.
- ⁷⁸ Sinn 1982.
- ⁷⁹ Demetriou 2010.
- ⁸⁰ Pausanias 1.1.3; IG II² 2872; *IosPE* I² 168; Hauvette-Besnault/Dubois 1881, 108; AM 15 1890, 261-262 no 15; CIG 4443; *IDélos* 2132.
- ⁸¹ *Anthologia Palatina* 10.21; Callimachos fr. 5 [ed. Pfeiffer].
- ⁸² Wolters 1925, 46-49; SEG 23, 170.
- ⁸³ *Iscr. di Cos* ED 178; SEG 50, 766; *WissZ Halle* 16, 384, 26; *I Eryth* 213a; *IOlbia* 68; AM 9 1884, 75 no. 8; SEG 24, 1133; Hasluck 1910, 236; See also Graf 1985, 261.
- ⁸⁴ Pausanias 1.1.3.
- ⁸⁵ Schindler 1998, 29 and Appendix 1 fig. 2; Pausanias 3.23.10, 3.25.9, 7.24.2, 7.21.10-11.
- ⁸⁶ Parker 1996, 238; Garland 2001, 112-113; Pironti 2007, 245-247.
- ⁸⁷ Thomas/Villing 2014, 91-94; 2014, 2, 7, 12.
- ⁸⁸ *Iscr. di Cos* ED 178, a.21-23; Obbink-Parker I.27-29.
- ⁸⁹ IG XIV 401.
- ⁹⁰ *IDélos* 2305.
- ⁹¹ SEG 28, 838.
- ⁹² *Anthologia Palatina* 9.601.
- ⁹³ Polycharmos *apud* Athenaios 15.675f-676c.
- ⁹⁴ A comparable example is the worship of the Thracian goddess Bendis in Athens. The goddess was introduced in Athens through its *emporion*, Peiraieus, at first unofficially as a divinity worshiped by Thracian metics and probably also slaves. At some point before 429/428 BCE, Athens gave the right to Thracians to own land in order to establish a sanctuary dedicated to Bendis. By 429/428 BCE the goddess was officially adopted into Athenian state religion, and by 413/412 BCE the *polis* started to regulate the rituals associated with the goddess, as we can see through a series of inscriptions that relate to her worship (IG I³ 383; IG II² 1255, 1256, 1283, 1284, 1317, 1324, 1361, 1496; SEG 10, 64). See Garland 1992, 111-114, Jones 1999, 256-262, Simms 1988; Demetriou 2012, 222-227.
- ⁹⁵ Gardner 1888, 66 nos 818 and 821 pl. 21; Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-1899, 56 no 107 pl. 5.
- ⁹⁶ Gardner 1888, 64 no 753 pl. 21.
- ⁹⁷ Gardner 1888, 64 no 768 pl. 21.
- ⁹⁸ Scholtz 2002/2003, 234-239.
- ⁹⁹ Rosenzweig 2004.
- ¹⁰⁰ See also Höckmann/Möller 2006, 16-17.
- ¹⁰¹ Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-1899, 29-39 and 43-45.
- ¹⁰² Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-1899, 54 no 28 pl. 4, 55 nos 46 and 54 pl. 4, 55 no 60 pl. 5, and 56 nos 86-88, 91-93, 107 pl. 5; Hogarth/Lorimer/Edgar 1905, 117 nos 9-16.
- ¹⁰³ Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-1899, 56 no 85 pl. 5; Hogarth/Lorimer/Edgar 1905, 117 no 8.
- ¹⁰⁴ Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-1899, 53 no 3 pl. 4, 54 no 33 pl. 4, and 55 no 63 pl. 5.
- ¹⁰⁵ Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-1899, 54 no 31 and 55 no 51 pl. 4.
- ¹⁰⁶ Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-1899, 54 no 24 pl. 4, 55 nos 45, 49, 57 pl. 4.
- ¹⁰⁷ Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-1899, 55 no 62 pl. 5.
- ¹⁰⁸ Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-1899, 29-39 and 53 nos 14 and 18 pl. 4; 54-55 nos 64, 71-81, 95-97, 106 pl. 5; Hogarth/Lorimer/Edgar 1905, 116 nos 1-4.
- ¹⁰⁹ Demetriou 2012, 144-145.
- ¹¹⁰ Pridik 1908, 19 no 12; SEG 32, 1586.
- ¹¹¹ IG II² 337.
- ¹¹² Lichtheim 1977; Yoyotte 2006; Bomhard 2012.

ABBREVIATIONS

- IDélos*: 1923-1937, *Inscriptions de Délos*, 7 vols, Paris.
- I Eryth*: Engelmann, H./R. Merkelbach (eds) 1972-1973, *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*, 2 vols, Bonn.
- IOlbia*: Knipovich, T.N./E.I. Levi 1968, *Inscriptiones Olbiae* (1917-1965), Leningrad.
- IosPE*: Latysev, B. (ed.) 1885-1916, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*, 3 vols, St. Petersburg.
- Iscr. di Cos*: Segre, M. 1993, *Iscrizioni di Cos* (Monografie della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e della missione italiana in Oriente 6), Rome.
- LGPN 1: Fraser, P.M./E. Matthews (eds) 1987, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Vol. 1: Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica, Oxford.
- LGPN 2: Osborne, M./S. Byrne (eds) 1994, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Vol. 2: Attica, Oxford.
- LGPN 5A: Corsten, T. (ed.) 2010, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Vol. 5A: Coastal Asia Minor: Pontos to Ionia, Oxford.
- Obbink-Parker: Parker, R./D. Obbink 2000, Aus der Arbeit der 'Inscriptiones Graecae' VI. Sales of Priesthoods on Cos I, *Chiron* 30, 415-449.

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Un cratere attico a figure rosse con graffito commerciale menzionante *kothones* e *arysteres*

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Abstract

An Attic red-figure crater that can stylistically be assigned to the Boreas-Florence Group has a very interesting commercial graffito under its foot, consisting in three lines, with a proper noun, *Paseas*, and two vase names, i.e. *kothones* and *arysteres*, accompanied by numerals. As far as it is known, this is the first occurrence of the two vase names written in full in a commercial graffito. This occurrence provides the opportunity for a reappraisal of the attestations of the *kothon*, and of the rather uncommon *aryster*, and to formulate hypotheses on their uses and their identification in effectively attested shapes.*

Il presente contributo si propone l'edizione di un cratere attico a colonnette, a figure rosse, e in particolare del graffito commerciale individuato sotto il suo piede.¹ Il lato A del cratere (fig. 1) è decorato da una scena dionisiaca: a sinistra è una donna stante, rivolta a destra, con una fiaccola nella sinistra e il braccio destro avvolto nell'*himation*; segue un satiro, incedente verso destra, con il capo coronato di edera e le braccia protese per afferrare una donna (menade?) che procede verso destra ma rivolge il capo verso di lui; la donna ha i capelli raccolti sulla nuca e il capo coronato di

una *tainia*, veste *chiton* e *himation* e ha le braccia e le mani avvolte nel vestito (dettaglio, noto come 'wing-sleeves', ricorrente nelle scene dionisiache); chiude la scena un satiro incedente verso destra, retrospiciente, con un tirso nella sinistra e il braccio destro sollevato e rivolto verso la donna.² Sul lato B (fig. 2) sono tre uomini a colloquio: da sinistra, un uomo barbato, con i capelli cinti di *tainia*, rivolto a destra, avvolto nell'*himation* da cui fuoriesce il braccio destro; segue un altro uomo rivolto verso destra, vestito di *himation*, con



Fig. 1. Cratere, lato A (su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo - Soprintendenza Archeologia della Lombardia).



Fig. 2. Cratere, lato B (su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo - Soprintendenza Archeologia della Lombardia).

braccio destro poggiato su un bastone; chiude la scena un giovane rivolto verso sinistra, con capelli cinti di *tainia*, vestito di *himation* e con il braccio destro proteso in avanti. Le scene su entrambi i lati sono delimitate, in basso, da uno spesso filetto di



Fig. 3. Cratere, parte superiore (su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo - Soprintendenza Archeologia della Lombardia).



Fig. 4. Cratere, parte inferiore del piede (su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo - Soprintendenza Archeologia della Lombardia).

vernice rossa che corre lungo tutta la circonferenza del vaso; ai lati, da tralci d'edera stilizzati, presenti anche sullo spessore dell'orlo; in alto, da linguette. Il collo (solo sul lato A) e la tesa dell'orlo (fig. 3) sono decorati con una catena di boccioli di loto e punti, mentre le due placchette sopra le anse sono ornate da una palmetta. La fiamma della fiaccola e le corone di edera dei due satiri sul lato A e le *tainiai* del primo e del terzo ammantato sul lato B sono realizzate con una sovraddipintura in rosso. Il vaso, secondo l'attribuzione proposta da Giada Giudice, può essere assegnato alla maniera del pittore di Firenze³ che, con i pittori di Boreas e di Londra E 489, appartiene, nella classificazione beazleyana, al gruppo di Boreas-Firenze, inquadrabile tra gli 'Early Classic Painters' e attivo soprattutto nella produzione di 'second-rate column-kraters';⁴ su base stilistica, si può proporre una datazione intorno al 460 a.C.

Nell'iscrizione graffita sotto il piede (figg. 4-5), con lettere alte in media cm 1/1,5, si leggono il nome proprio Πασέας e due numerali espressi nel sistema acrofonico attico, che seguono altrettanti angionimi sui quali ci si soffermerà in seguito. L'*usus scribendi* è sostanzialmente compatibile con una realizzazione ad Atene nel periodo proposto su base stilistica per la decorazione vascolare, cioè intorno al 460 a.C., e comunque non oltre la metà del secolo; il *theta* con croce e l'*ypsilon* che sembra eseguito senza tratto inferiore⁵ non ostano alla datazione proposta, perché gli elementi arcaizzanti nei graffiti possono permanere più a lungo che nelle iscrizioni su altri supporti.⁶ La presenza del *sigma* a cinque tratti, tipico soprattutto dell'alfabeto laconico⁷ e attestato sporadicamente nell'uso attico,⁸ non sembra sufficiente per proporre un'origine allogena dell'autore del graffito, che comunque non può essere del tutto esclusa e non sarebbe per nulla insolita ad Atene.⁹ Un confronto particolarmente signifi-



Fig. 5. Cratere, apografo del graffito (su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo - Soprintendenza Archeologia della Lombardia).

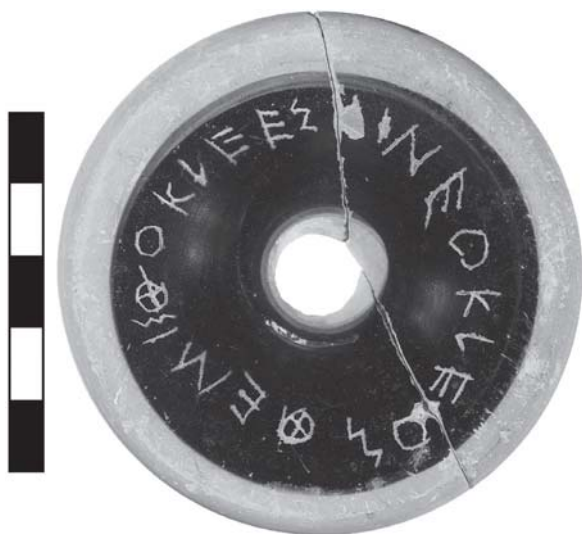


Fig. 6. Ostrakon AO 57, dalle pendici settentrionali dell'Acropoli di Atene (su concessione dell'American School of Classical Studies at Athens - Agora Excavations).



Fig. 7. Ostrakon AO 92, dalle pendici settentrionali dell'Acropoli di Atene (su concessione dell'American School of Classical Studies at Athens - Agora Excavations).

cativo per l'utilizzo del *sigma* a cinque tratti, sebbene anteriore di circa un ventennio, è offerto da due *ostraka* (figg. 6-7) con il nome di Temistocle, databili dal 482 a.C. e ante 470 a.C. circa, provenienti dalle pendici settentrionali dell'Acropoli e attribuiti da Broneer alla stessa mano.¹⁰

Nel graffito in esame il *sigma* assume una forma diversa a seconda della sua posizione, come ampiamente attestato, tra l'altro, nelle iscrizioni vascolari, attiche e non, e negli *ostraka* ateniesi, dove, pur in assenza di regole precise, si tende a diversificare l'uso del *sigma* in fine di parola, davanti a dentale, o in associazione a *chi*.¹¹ In questo caso, l'incisore sembra essersi uniformato a tale tendenza, usando il *sigma* a quattro tratti davanti a vocale, in Πασέα, e il *sigma* a cinque tratti in posizione finale, in κῶθῶνες e ἀρυστέρες e, in quest'ultima parola, anche davanti alla dentale. Nel *sigma* di κῶθῶνες la presenza di un trattino in più *grosso modo* a metà della lettera si potrebbe spiegare ipotizzando un ripensamento dell'incisore, che corregge il *sigma* prima tracciato trasformandolo a cinque tratti. Sulla base dell'analogia, l'ipotesi più semplice è che il graffito sia stato inciso ad Atene, nel momento in cui il cratere e – come si vedrà – gli altri oggetti del lotto iniziano il loro itinerario commerciale verso il mercato cui erano destinati.

- 1 Πασέα
- 2 κῶθῶνες ΔΔΠ
- 3 ἀρυστέρες ΔΠ

1. Πασέα: può essere ricondotto a un nominativo Πασέα, che è attestato ad Atene ma non sembra avere una precisa connotazione geografica.¹² Nel graffito il nome può essere interpretato come un genitivo in -α, tipico del dorico ma piuttosto insolito nell'uso attico e in genere adoperato per i nomi di non ateniesi,¹³ quale Paseas, come si è visto, potrebbe essere, o come un nominativo asigmatico.¹⁴ Secondo l'interpretazione più verosimile, Paseas è il commerciante cui apparteneva e/o era destinato il lotto composto dal cratere (il 'master vase', secondo la terminologia johnstoniana) accompagnato da 22 *kothones* e 12 *arystères*,¹⁵ forme vascolari per le quali in seguito si proporrà un'identificazione e che, dato il loro numero relativamente elevato, erano probabilmente di dimensioni medio-piccole.¹⁶ Il vaso principale del lotto, sotto il cui piede sono graffite annotazioni, di quantità e/o di prezzo, riferentisi agli altri vasi, in genere di minori dimensioni, che viaggiavano insieme (in alcuni casi, si potrebbe immaginare, imballati all'interno del vaso maggiore), è spesso, come in questo caso, un cratere a colonnette,¹⁷ frequenti sono anche i graffiti su crateri a campana¹⁸ e non mancano le attestazioni su *pelikai*,¹⁹ *hydriai*,²⁰ anfore,²¹ *stamnoi*,²² su piedi riferibili a crateri²³ e su un cratere di forma non specificata.²⁴ Ad accrescere l'interesse del graffito

in esame, nel quale il nome proprio, secondo l'interpretazione proposta, è riportato per intero, vi è la constatazione che, nei graffiti commerciali, sono rari i nomi propri, che Johnston riferisce a 'traders',²⁵ indicati per esteso o con abbreviazioni superiori alle due/tre lettere.²⁶

2. $\kappa\theta\theta\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$: l'identificazione della forma vascolare indicata come *kothon* è piuttosto controversa, come dimostra l'ampio dibattito svoltosi già dal XIX secolo, favorito anche dalle informazioni non facilmente conciliabili tra loro offerte dalle fonti letterarie, in *primis* Ateneo e gli autori da lui citati.²⁷ Ai fini del presente studio, e rimandando alla vasta bibliografia in materia,²⁸ basti osservare come tale angionimo non possa essere assegnato in maniera univoca a un'unica forma, poiché lo stesso uso antico poteva cambiare a seconda dei periodi e dei contesti geografici;²⁹ ad esempio, se le fonti letterarie sembrano presentare il *kothon* come un vaso essenzialmente potorio, le iscrizioni graffite sui vasi stessi permettono di intravedere un'altra accezione, non in contrasto con quella letteraria ma certamente evidenza di un uso linguistico concreto. È il caso, in particolare, delle parole etrusche *qutum* e *qutun*, derivate, secondo un'interpretazione generalmente condivisa, da $\kappa\theta\theta\omega\nu$,³⁰ e attestate nel VII secolo a.C. in iscrizioni 'parlanti' graffite, in ambito ceretano-falisco, su vasi che, secondo l'uso corrente, definiremmo *oinochoai*, da Caere (tre esempi, nella forma *qutum*)³¹ e da Narce (un esempio etrusco, nella forma *qutun*, e uno falisco, nella forma *quton*).³² Sempre nel VII secolo a.C. *qutum* è anche su un *aryballos*,³³ mentre il diminutivo *qutumuza* è su una piccola *oinochoe* da Veio e su una brocchetta.³⁴ In un periodo più vicino a quello del graffito in esame è possibile che la parola *kothon* avesse mantenuto un'accezione di vaso per versare e indicasse l'*oinochoe* di forma 8 o 'mug'³⁵ (fig. 8); tale interpretazione si basa su un frammento attico ritrovato a Isthmia e recante, sulla base, il graffito $\kappa\theta\theta\omega\nu$,³⁶ quasi concordemente interpretato come nome del vaso stesso.³⁷ La forma, attestata anche da esemplari metallici³⁸ e nota, nella sua variante 8B, come 'Pheidias Shape', dal celebre esemplare con il graffito $\Phi\epsilon\iota\delta\iota\omicron$ εἶμι rinvenuto nell'*ergasterion* dell'artista a Olimpia,³⁹ si presta a più scopi, come evidenziato da Beazley ('I have called this kind of vase an oinochoe, but evidently it might serve more than one purpose - as a dipper, a measure, a taster, or a portable drinking cup'), e ciò riuscirebbe a conciliare, almeno in parte, le discrepananti indicazioni delle fonti.⁴⁰

Se $\kappa\theta\theta\omega\nu$ compare più volte nelle epigrafi,⁴¹ quello in esame costituirebbe, invece, per quanto



Fig. 8. Oinochoe di forma 8 o 'mug' (Atene, Agora, P 15038) (su concessione dell'American School of Classical Studies at Athens - Agora Excavations).

noto, il primo esempio di graffito commerciale in cui la parola è indicata per esteso. Prima d'ora era conosciuto solo il diminutivo $\kappa\theta\theta\omega\nu\iota\omicron\nu$ - anch'esso attestato epigraficamente⁴² - sotto il piede del cratere a colonnette Napoli 116116 (c. 430 a.C.), che ha un duplice graffito: da un lato $\kappa\omega\theta\iota\nu\theta\iota\omicron\iota$ (cui probabilmente bisogna sottintendere $\kappa\omega\theta\iota\eta\varsigma$), dall'altro $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\mu\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\ |\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\omega\theta\omega\nu\iota\alpha$.⁴³ Johnston, peraltro, considera questo graffito come un ulteriore elemento a favore dell'identificazione del *kothon* delle fonti con l'*oinochoe* di forma 8.⁴⁴

3. $\acute{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$: l' $\acute{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$ appartiene a un gruppo di *nomina instrumenti* collegati con il verbo $\acute{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\omega$ ('attingo'), non particolarmente comuni ma attestati per un lungo periodo.⁴⁵ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$, in particolare, è un termine usato sia come angionimo, indicando un vaso per attingere (vino, in particolare), sia come unità di misura. Ateneo, com'è noto testo fondamentale per l'angionimia greca, riserva una menzione piuttosto fugace all' $\acute{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$ nella sezione dedicata agli angionimi corradicali,⁴⁶ limitandosi ad affermare che i $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\alpha\theta\omega\iota$ [...] $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\sigma\tau\iota\chi\omicron\iota$ e a citare un verso di Semonide ($\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\delta'\acute{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma\alpha\ \tau\upsilon\gamma\gamma\omicron\varsigma$),⁴⁷ in cui $\acute{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$ potrebbe avere la duplice accezione di angionimo e di unità di misura ('both senses are possible', osserva Vos⁴⁸). Altre occorrenze poetiche, nell'accezione, esclusiva o prevalente, di vaso per attingere, sono in Alceo che, in un contesto verosimilmente conviviale, parla di (immergere?) $\acute{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$ 'ἐς $\kappa\epsilon\theta\alpha\mu\omicron\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\nu$ ⁴⁹ e in Callimaco che, nella descrizione di un banchetto, fa dire a un interlocutore: 'è molto

vero il detto che il vino vuole avere non solo la sua parte di acqua, ma anche di conversazione. Dunque noi, poiché infatti non si trasporta negli *arysteres* (οὐκ ἐν γὰρ ἀρυστήρεσσι φορεῖται) [...] versiamo questo rimedio nella pericolosa bevanda'.⁵⁰

L'esempio forse più chiaro e più ampiamente citato dell'uso di ἀρυστήρ nell'accezione di unità di misura è offerto da Erodoto che, tra i vantaggi accordati in Egitto ai soldati della guardia reale, indica una razione giornaliera di quattro ἀρυστήρες di vino.⁵¹ Da questo passo, secondo l'interpretazione di Bonanno, discenderebbe il lemma di Esichio, che stabilisce un'equazione tra ἀρυστήρ e κοτύλη,⁵² anche Polluce⁵³ e l'*Etymologicum magnum*⁵⁴ considerano l'ἀρυστήρ come un vaso per attingere, sinonimo di κοτύλη, ma non specificano - né escludono - l'accezione di unità di misura. Una corrispondenza tra questi due termini sembra sottintesa in un meno noto, e ben più tardo, passo di Temistio che, nell'orazione *Sophista*, parrebbe usare ἀρυστήρ e κοτύλη come sinonimi in una mutila similitudine a difesa del suo operato: 'chiedetevi se io mi sia stabilito in una bottega vendendo discorsetti brevi o lunghi, e mi sia proccacciato da vivere con una simile attività, e tutto ciò come i più sofistici tra i bottegai, che mostrando l'ἀρυστήρ, gridano e urlano che quella bevanda odora di nettare e che la κοτύλη è molto più capiente'.⁵⁵

Nelle attestazioni epigrafiche, la parola ἀρυστήρ è usata, come angionimo, in inventari degli anfori delii ad Atene⁵⁶ e a Delos⁵⁷ e degli *hieropoioi* di Delos,⁵⁸ e in un'iscrizione sacra di Kos.⁵⁹ Più complesse sono le rare occorrenze di ἀρυστήρ, variamente abbreviato, in graffiti commerciali.⁶⁰ Tre anfore panatenaiche databili tra la fine del VI e gli inizi del V secolo a.C. presentano, sotto il piede, graffiti con l'abbreviazione della parola seguita da un numerale espresso nel sistema milesio: Leiden PC 7, ἀρυστῆ(ρες) | ϙε;⁶¹ Toronto 919.5.148, ἀρυσ(τῆρες) | ϙ;⁶² Monaco 9557, ἀρυστῆ(ρες) | ϙΔ.⁶³ Secondo Vos questi graffiti indicherebbero la quantità di olio contenuta nelle anfore non al momento della loro aggiudicazione al vincitore, ma in occasione della loro vendita 'di seconda mano'; sulla scorta di Esichio, Vos considera *aryster* come un'unità di misura pari alla *kotyle*.⁶⁴ A questi tre esemplari Vos accosta anche l'anfora panatenaica Boulogne 441⁶⁵ che, secondo Beazley, ha sulla spalla il solo numero ϙB, a proposito del quale 'we may assume that here too, *arysteres* must be completed'.⁶⁶ Divergente è, invece, l'interpretazione del graffito sotto il piede dell'anfora panatenaica Cabinet des Médailles 244, in cui è incerto se si debba individuare un conteggio

in *arysteres/kotylai*.⁶⁷ Le panatenaiche in esame, oltre che cronologicamente, sono tra loro vicine anche stilisticamente: secondo Beazley, Leiden PC 7 e Cabinet des Médailles 244 sono entrambe 'near the Painter of Berlin 1833' e le loro raffigurazioni 'are imitated from the Eucharides Painter',⁶⁸ cui lo studioso attribuisce Toronto 919.5.148. Date le somiglianze dei graffiti su Leiden PC 7, Monaco 9557 e Toronto 919.5.148, Vos ipotizza che 'all three vases at some time, not long after they had been manufactured, passed through the hands of the same man, probably a merchant'.⁶⁹ A queste attestazioni si deve aggiungere l'*hydria* Edimburgo 1877.29 (c. 440 a.C.) che ha sotto il piede un graffito in cui, nonostante le diverse letture proposte, sembra certa la presenza della parola ἀρυστήρ,⁷⁰ nel significato di angionimo e non di unità di misura.

Vi sono, inoltre, alcuni graffiti con le sole lettere ἀρ. Nel suo *corpus* del 1979, Johnston inserisce un'anfora del gruppo di Leagros (Londra B225)⁷¹ e una perduta anfora da Vulci⁷² nel tipo 2F, gruppo VII, tra i graffiti che presentano angionimi abbreviati e numerali 'milesi'. In entrambi i casi, l'abbreviazione ἀρ sarebbe accompagnata, secondo la lettura di Johnston, dal numerale ΙΔ. A questi due esempi, Johnston aggiunge, nel 2006, una terza occorrenza, su un'altra anfora del gruppo di Leagros, in cui ἀρ è seguito dal numerale ΙΗ.⁷³ Tali graffiti, dunque, farebbero riferimento a lotti di ἀρ(στήρες?) che accompagnerebbero un vaso principale, cioè l'anfora. Johnston si riferisce a questi graffiti leggendo ἀρ, e anche la sua proposta interpretativa è consequenziale a tale lettura, poiché egli esita tra gli scioglimenti ἀρ(στήρ) e ἀρύ(βαλλος), propendendo per la prima ipotesi.⁷⁴ Nella foto di Londra B225 e nell'apografo dell'anfora di Vulci, però, tra ἀρ e il numerale vi è un segno che sembrerebbe un *sigma* a tre tratti; ciò ha spinto Immerwahr a leggere ἀρ(...)|σιδ(...), pensando a 'metal ladles',⁷⁵ ma tale lettura avrebbe, tra l'altro, il difetto di essere un'informazione isolata, senza indicazioni di prezzo o di numero. Johnston, però, considera il segno a tre tratti non come un *sigma* ma come un segno d'interpunzione⁷⁶ e l'apografo del terzo graffito contribuisce a fare chiarezza: in questo caso, infatti, tra ἀρ e il numerale vi sono due trattini obliqui paralleli, interpretabili, al pari di esempi analoghi,⁷⁷ come segno divisorio. Sotto il piede di un *oinochoe* del pittore di Geras (figg. 9-10) sono riconoscibili le lettere ΕΠ, ΑΡΥ e due segni (numerali?).⁷⁸ Il primo graffito appartiene a un tipo (3E), piuttosto comune, in cui le lettere E e P, variamente combinate, sono forse abbreviazione del nome di un per-

sonaggio coinvolto nel commercio di tali vasi,⁷⁹ mentre il secondo graffito è inserito da Johnston tra le attestazioni di ἄρν(στήρ). In seguito, Johnston propone di considerare il graffito ἄρν, su un piede di *kylix* a vernice nera da Himera (metà del VI secolo a.C.)⁸⁰ e su una ciotola a vernice nera da Kamarina (V secolo a.C.),⁸¹ come abbreviazione di ἄρν(στήρ), sulla scorta di un graffito vascolare di Berezan in cui la parola compare per intero.⁸²

Le lettere ἄρν graffite su un frammento di anfora del VII-VI secolo a.C. da Gela sono invece integrate come ἄρν(στήρ),⁸³ e potrebbero riferirsi a un uso nell'accezione di unità di misura, come forse in un *titulus pictus*, molto più tardo, su un'anfora proveniente da un contesto del I secolo d.C. dell'agora di Atene, in cui Lang legge ἄρνσ[---] come 'perhaps ἄρνστήρ, a liquid measure'.⁸⁴ Un'altra probabile occorrenza è su un frammento di coppa 'megarese', del II secolo a.C., da Tyras, in cui si potrebbe leggere ἡμὶ ἄρνστήρ ('sono l'ἄρνστήρ di ...') o ἡμιστάρνστήρ(ος), come unità di misura ('mezzo ἄρνστήρ').⁸⁵

Dalle attestazioni letterarie ed epigrafiche sopra esposte è lecito concludere che la parola ἄρνστήρ abbia due usi principali, per indicare un'unità di misura e una forma vascolare, ed è forse possibile proporre, almeno per il periodo del graffito in esame, una plausibile identificazione con una forma vascolare reale. L'ἄρνστήρ è, come si è visto, etimologicamente un 'vaso per attingere', che sembra usato soprattutto per il vino, e correttamente Johnston ipotizza che 'the oenochoe, in addition to its own name may be termed χοῦς, and just possibly ἄρνστήρ or κύαθος', facendo dunque dell'ἄρνστήρ un possibile tipo di *oinochoe*,⁸⁶ pur mostrandosi pessimista sulle eventualità di identificazione.⁸⁷ Un passo del *De genitura* ippocratico, però, ha offerto a Villard e Blondé uno spunto in tal senso; il trattatista, infatti, parlando dell'accrescimento del feto, afferma che, se si colloca un cetriolo, ancora in crescita, 'in un *aryster* (ἐς ἄρνστηρα), sarà uguale e simile alla cavità dell'*aryster* (τοῦ ἄρνστηρος τῷ κοίλῳ); se invece lo si pone in un vaso grande (ἄγγος [...] μέγα), adatto a contenerlo ma non molto più ampio della natura del cetriolo, questo sarà uguale e simile alla cavità del vaso. In generale, tutti i vegetali si comportano secondo come li si costringe. Così accade anche per il bambino: se ha uno spazio largo nel quale crescere, diventa più grande; se ha uno spazio stretto, (resta) più piccolo'.⁸⁸ A giudicare dunque da tale similitudine, l'*aryster* doveva avere una forma piuttosto stretta e allungata; perciò Villard e Blondé propongono l'identificazione con un vaso monoansato, a imboccatura tonda e



Fig. 9. Oinochoe del pittore di Geras (Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 126056) (su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo - Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli).

ansa verticale, che nell'uso corrente si definirebbe *olpe* ed è ampiamente attestato, con diverse varianti formali, nella produzione attica del V secolo a.C., in ceramica comune, a vernice nera, con decorazione a bande, oltre che a figure rosse.⁸⁹ Questi ultimi esemplari, e quelli analoghi a vernice nera, sono classificati da Beazley tra le *oinochoai* di forma 5 (fig. 11),⁹⁰ attestate anche da esemplari metallici.⁹¹ Merita di essere notato - come ulteriore, ipotetico elemento a sostegno dell'identificazione proposta da Villard e Blondé - il fatto che vari esemplari dell'agora di Atene presentino la parola δῆμοσιος scritta per esteso o abbreviata in δῆ-. Ciò ha permesso di ipotizzare che tali *olpai* - per le quali si propone l'identificazione con gli *arysteres* - aves-



Fig. 10. Oinochoe del pittore di Geras, parte inferiore del piede (su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo - Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli).

sero anche la funzione di unità di misura ufficiali corrispondenti a una *kotyle*.⁹² Se, dunque, un vaso che si propone di denominare *aryster* aveva anche la funzione di un'unità di misura pari a una *kotyle*, tale elemento potrebbe contribuire a spiegare, almeno in parte, l'equivalenza tra *kotyle* e *aryster* che alcune delle fonti sopra ricordate sembrano stabilire. Per completezza, si deve ricordare come una delle attestazioni del graffito ἀρυ sia proprio su un'oinochoe di forma 5A (figg. 9-10), attribuita al pittore di Geras;⁹³ sarebbe estremamente suggestivo considerare questo un altro elemento a favore dell'identificazione proposta ma, ammesso che ἀρυ stia effettivamente per ἀρυ(στήρ), sarebbe imprudente interpretare un graffito di questo tipo come 'self-referent', secondo la terminologia johnstoniana, cioè riferentesi al vaso su cui è iscritto.

Come si può costatare, la varietà dei temi e dei problemi connessi con il graffito edito in questo contributo è, in definitiva, un'ulteriore conferma del suo interesse. Le particolarità paleografiche, la rara presenza di un nome proprio non abbreviato e la prima occorrenza, per quanto noto, dei due angionimi κώθωνες e ἀρυστήρες indicati per esteso, sono le principali caratteristiche di un graffito che, con la sua immediatezza, offre un vivido e originale contributo sull'organizzazione del commercio della ceramica attica intorno al 460 a.C.



Fig. 11. Oinochoe di forma 5 (Atene, Agora, P 12572) (su concessione dell'American School of Classical Studies at Athens - Agora Excavations).

NOTE

* Il cratere, nella raccolta Mondadori di Milano, è stato dichiarato di interesse archeologico particolarmente importante con decreto emanato il 26 marzo 2014 dal Direttore regionale per i beni culturali e paesaggistici della Lombardia. Ringrazio il dott. Filippo Mondadori per il cortese assenso alla pubblicazione e, premettendo che qualsiasi responsabilità per errori, imprecisioni e omissioni è da imputare esclusivamente a me, esprimo la mia riconoscenza al prof. Alan W. Johnston, per la liberalità con cui ha formulato varie preziose osservazioni su questa ricerca, alla dott.ssa Giada Giudice, per l'attribuzione del cratere e per i generosi suggerimenti, e al dott. Agostino Soldati, per il costante interesse e per i costruttivi consigli; di alcuni aspetti della ricerca ho utilmente discusso anche con il prof. Giovanni Marginesu. Ringrazio, inoltre, presso la Soprintendenza Archeologia della Lombardia, il soprintendente dott. Filippo Maria Gambari, per il continuo sostegno nell'atti-

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- ¹ Dimensioni: altezza cm 37; diametro del piede cm 16; diametro massimo del ventre cm 27; diametro dell'imboccatura cm 31 (inclusendo le placchette sopra le anse cm 36,5); spessore dell'orlo cm 3,5.
- ² Sull'iconografia dionisiaca, molto comune nella ceramica attica, vd. almeno, tra gli studi di carattere generale, LIMC III, s.v. *Dionysos*, 414-514 (C. Gasparri, 1986); Schöne 1987; Carpenter/Faraone 1993; Carpenter 1997; LIMC VIII, s.v. *Mainades*, 780-803 (I. Krauskopf/E. Simon/B. Simon, 1997); LIMC VIII, s.v. *Silenoi*, 1108-1133 (E. Simon, 1997); Fahlbusch 2004; Villanueva Puig 2009; Schlesier 2011; Bernabé et al. 2013; Lissarrague 2013.
- ³ Giada Giudice *per ep.* suggerisce i seguenti confronti con crateri a colonnette: per il lato A, Ferrara T212BVPA (ARV², 543, nr. 52bis; BA, nr. 206186, maniera del pittore di Firenze); Ferrara 2799 (ARV², 545, nr. 2; BA, nr. 206207, maniera del pittore di Firenze); Ruvo, Jatta 421/36732 (ARV², 543, nr. 49; BA, nr. 206180, pittore di Firenze); per il rendimento dei satiri, Siracusa 22758 (ARV², 544, nr. 54; BA, nr. 206187, pittore di Firenze); per la figura barbata sul lato B, Rennes D863.1.26/716 (ARV², 543, nr. 39bis; BA, nr. 206170, pittore di Firenze) e, per le pieghe del suo *himation*, Ferrara 2688 (ARV², 541, nr. 3; BA, nr. 206130, pittore di Firenze).
- ⁴ ARV², 536.
- ⁵ Vd., in particolare, per il *theta* Immerwahr 1990, 144-145 e Lang 1990, 11, e per l'*epsilon* Immerwahr 1990, 160-162 e Lang 1990, 12; a proposito del graffito in esame, Johnston *per ep.* osserva che 'the crossed *theta* is late for Attic, though not impossible'.
- ⁶ Vd., in particolare, Immerwahr 1990, 145 (per il *theta*) e 161 (per l'*epsilon*).
- ⁷ Sul *sigma* a cinque tratti nell'alfabeto laconico vd. almeno Guarducci 1967-1978, I, 278-279; Jeffery 1990, 183-184, 186-187; tale *sigma* è attestato, sebbene più raramente, anche nell'alfabeto euboico (Jeffery 1990, 79-80).
- ⁸ Vd. Immerwahr 1990, 159, con l'osservazione: 'five-stroke *sigma* occurs sporadically [...]. I do not know if this form is an imitation of Laconian *sigma*'; a proposito del graffito in esame, Johnston *per ep.*, osserva: 'the *sigmas* are very curious, but Lakonian does seem very unlikely'.
- ⁹ Secondo Johnston *per ep.*, la scrittura e la lingua del graffito non sono molto diagnostici, ma è lecito dubitare se l'autore fosse 'a fully Athenian inscriber'; vd. anche, *infra*, le osservazioni su Πασέα. Il coinvolgimento di stranieri nella produzione e nel commercio della ceramica attica, come in altre attività commerciali, è un fenomeno ampiamente documentato; vd. almeno, in generale, Boardman 2001, 144-146 e, con specifico riferimento ai graffiti commerciali, TGV; TGVAdd; Johnston 1973; 1991, 220-221; Immerwahr 1990, 175.
- ¹⁰ *Ostraka* (piedi di *kylikes*) AO 57 (Θεμισθοκλέες || x || Νεοκλέος) e AO 92 (Θεμισθοκλέες Νεοκλέος), dalle pendici settentrionali dell'Acropoli, vd. Broneer 1938, 238, fig. 68, 'Group G'; Lang 1990, 153, cat. 1295 G (AO

57) e cat. 1296 G (AO 92), con proposta di accostare i due *ostraka* a un'altra mano ('Hand B'); Immerwahr 1990, 159, nr. 1100 (per errore AO 92 è indicato come AO 98). Broneer 1938, 242-243, ipotizza che gli *ostraka* con il nome di Temistocle da lui studiati siano stati approntati per il tentato ostracismo del 482 a.C.

- ¹¹ Per il comportamento del *sigma* nei graffiti attici vd. soprattutto Lang 1990, 12 e 15, e, tra i numerosi esempi possibili, gli *ostraka* citati alla nota precedente (figg. 6-7); per le iscrizioni vascolari non attiche vd. Wachter 2001; vd., ad esempio, le iscrizioni sulla *kylix* di *Arkesilas* (Parigi, Cabinet des Médailles, 189) in cui coesistono diverse forme di *sigma* (Wachter 2001, 160-162, lak 3).
- ¹² Πασέα: LGPN, I, 363, nr. 1 (Chios, 146 o 145 a.C.); nr. 2 (Cirene, IV sec. a.C.); nr. 3 (Cirene?, II-I sec. a.C.); nr. 4 (Delos*, II sec. a.C.); LGPN, II, 361, nr. 1 (Atene, c. 520-510 a.C., vd. anche la nota successiva); nr. 2 (Atene, IV sec. a.C.); LGPN, III/A, 354, nr. 1 (Epidauros*, c. 370 a.C.); nr. 2 (Mantineia-Antigoneia, I sec. a.C.); nr. 3 (Megalopolis, 131 a.C.); nr. 4 (Sicione, c. 300-251 a.C.); LGPN, III/B, 337, nr. 1 (Myania, 181 a.C.); nr. 2 (Physkeis, II sec. a.C.); nr. 3 (Megara, fine del III sec. a.C.); LGPN, IV, 274, nr. 1 (Chersonesos, data incerta, graffito vascolare Πασέα); LGPN, V/A, 359, nr. 1 (Kyme, c. 229-220 BC); nr. 2 (Magnesia, 211-217 d.C.).
- ¹³ Threutte 1980-1996, II, 82-86; intorno al 520-510 a.C. il nome del ceramografo Paseas compare, al genitivo, come Πασέω, sul *pinax* Atene, Acropoli, 1.2583, vd. ABV, 352-353; ARV², 164, nr. 3; LGPN, II, 361, nr. 1; PAA, XIV, nr. 767585; CAVI, nr. 1196; BA, nr. 301992.
- ¹⁴ Schwyzer 1953, 560, a proposito della declinazione maschile in -α, osserva: 'eine Altertümlichkeit sind die Nominative (selten Vokative) auf -α, und besonders in -τα'; un possibile parallelo potrebbe essere il graffito vascolare di Chersonesos citato alla nota 12.
- ¹⁵ Vd., in particolare, Johnston 1991, 222-224: 'In many cases these numerals quite clearly denote sets or batches of vases, since they are prefaced by the name of a type of vase, either in full or in abbreviated form. It seems likely that these batches were reserved for a given trader, perhaps to facilitate transport to the Peiraeus and on and off ship'.
- ¹⁶ Quest'ultima ipotesi è suggerita da Johnston *per ep.*
- ¹⁷ Vd., ad esempio: Κορινθιογραφείς o Κορίνθιοι, Berlino 2928, da Rodi, richiama il pittore di Chicago, TGV, 167, 24F/1; CVA Deutschland 86. Berlin, Antikensammlung 11 (A. Schöne-Denkinger, 2009), 21-22, fig. 3 (apografo), Beil. 3/2, tavv. 13/1-5, 74/6; CAVI, nr. 2436; BA, nr. 45501, e Madrid 11045, pittore di Suessula, ARV², 1345, nr. 8; TGV, 167, 24F/5; CAVI, nr. 4891; BA, nr. 217575; λάκρυοι, Legnano, Museo Civico, cerchia del pittore di Brunswick (Volonté), Johnston 2005; Selmi 2005, 31-33, fig. 8; TGVAdd, 141, 1F/5a; BA, nr. 9023200; δξίδες, πλάσματα, Κορίνθιογραφείς, Benevento, Museo del Sannio, da Montesarchio, tomba 1458, officina del pittore di Pronomos (D'Henry), D'Henry 1997, 426 e 428, fig. 30; TGVAdd, 156, 14F/22, 161, 22F/11, 162, 24F5a, fig. 59; BA, nr. 5362; σκαφίδες, Ancona 3264/999, da Numana, pittore di Agrigento, ARV², 576, nr. 37; TGV, 166, 22F/5 e 169, 26F/11; CAVI, nr. 157; BA, nr. 206638; σκαφίδες, Κορινθιογράφης, Dublino 1880.507, pittore di Meleagro, ARV², 1411, nr. 38; TGV, 166, 22F/6 e 167, 24F/6, fig. 13j; Curti 2001, 108, nr. 3, tav. 8; CAVI, nr. 3384; BA, nr. 217956; τρύβλια, Melbourne D1.1976, 'the York reverse-group', ARV², 1450, nr. 6; TGV, 166, 22F/7, fig. 13t; CAVI, nr. 5081; BA, nr. 218196; Louvre K253, pittore di Rodin 966 (McPhee), TGV, 166, 22F/8 e 25F/7; CAVI, nr. 6693; BA, nr. 9017857; χόε(ς?), Agrigento C2034, pittore

- della centauiromachia del Louvre, ARV², 1089, nr. 23; TGV, 166, 22F/9, fig. 13e (a p. 232: 'I assume it may be the dual'); CAVI, nr. 94; BA, nr. 214610.
- ¹⁸ Vd., ad esempio: βαθέα, Dublino 1880.509, non attribuito, TGV, 161, 14F/12, fig. 13d; CAVI, nr. 3385; BA, nr. 9017937; κρατῆρες, βαθέα, ὀξίδες, Vienna 869, pittore di Kadmos, ARV², 1185, nr. 10; CVA Österreich 3. Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3 (F. Eichler, 1974), 19-21 (apografo), tav. 118, figg. 1-3; TGV, 161, 14F/1; CAVI, nr. 7911; BA, nr. 215698, e Louvre G503, pittore di Kadmos, ARV², 1185, nr. 18; TGV, 161, 14F/2; CAVI, nr. 6559; BA, nr. 215706; κρατῆρες, ὀξίδες, ὀξύβαφα, Louvre G496, pittore di Pothos, ARV², 1190, nr. 24; TGV, 161, 14F/3; CAVI, nr. 6557; BA, nr. 215758; κρατῆρες, πελλίνα, ὀξίδες, ὀξύβαφα, Londra E504, pittore di Pothos, ARV², 1190, nr. 25; TGV, 161, 14F/4; CAVI, nr. 4613; BA, nr. 215759; κρατῆρες, Salerno, da Montesarchio, tomba 228, officina del pittore di Meleagro (D'Henry), Johnston 1978, 224-225, fig. 2 e ill. 2; TGV, 161, 14F/6; D'Henry 1997, 425-426, figg. 26-27; CAVI, nr. 7424; BA, nr. 9017515; ληκύθια, οἰνοχόαι, Vienna 892, pittore di Telos, ARV², 1426, nr. 14; CVA Österreich 3. Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3 (F. Eichler, 1974), 26-27 (apografo), tav. 125, figg. 1-2; TGV, 150, 1F/5 e 166, 22F/1; CAVI, nr. 7913; BA, nr. 260074; οἰνοχόαι, Varna II.1449, da Odesos, 'the reverse-group of Ferrara T. 463', ARV², 1694, nr. 4bis; TGV, 166, 22F/2; Lazarow 1990, 108-109, nr. 45 (trascrizione); CAVI, nr. 7886; BA, nr. 275567; ὀξίδες ἡθιωταί, Montopoli, Antiquarium, da Populonia, Monaco 1993; TGVAdd, 156, 14F/23, fig. 107; ὀξύβαφα, già Napoli, coll. S. Giorgio, TGV, 162, 14F/18; CAVI, nr. 5515; BA, nr. 9017988; πελλίνα, ὀξίδες, κρατῆρες, Philadelphia 5682, pittore del Dinos, ARV², 1154, nr. 37; TGV, 161, 14F/5; CAVI, nr. 6812; BA, nr. 215290; ῥοφίδια, Madrid 84.152.2, pittore di Biscoe (Sanchez), TGVAdd, 161, 22F/12.
- ¹⁹ Vd., ad esempio: λακύθια, στάμνια, Gela 9240, da Vassallaggi, Johnston 1973; TGV, 150, 1F/6 e 164, 19F/2, fig. 12d; CAVI, nr. 3777; BA, nr. 9017972; λεκύθιδες, Siracusa 21834, da Gela, pittore di Siracusa, ARV², 520, nr. 32; TGV, 150, 1F/2; CAVI, nr. 7555; BA, nr. 205838; στάμνια, ὀξίδες, ληκύθια, ληκύθοι, ὀξύβαφα, Napoli 151600, da Napoli, pittore di Nikias (Johannowsky), Johnston 1978; TGV, 162, 14F/15 e 164, 19F/3, fig. 12c; CAVI, nr. 5482; BA, nr. 9401.
- ²⁰ Vd., ad esempio: λεκύθιδες, Basilea BS476, pittore di Siracusa, ARV², 520, nr. 35; TGV, 150, 1F/3; CVA Schweiz 7. Basel 3, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig (V. Slehoferova, 1988), 33-34, fig. 10 (apografo), Beil. 5, fig. 2, tav. 15, figg. 1-5; BA, nr. 205841; ληκύθια, Budapest 50.154, da Chiusi, classe di Londra E195, ARV², 1077, nr. 3; TGV, 150, 1F/4; CAVI, nr. 2998; BA, nr. 214481; ὕδριαι/ὕδρια, Edimburgo 1877.29, vd. nota 70; Londra E163, da Vulci, pittore di Copenhagen, ARV², 258, nr. 26; TGV, 165, 21F/1; CAVI, nr. 4514; BA, nr. 202944; Vienna 1152, vicino al pittore di Christie, ARV², 1049, nr. 3; CVA Österreich 3. Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3 (F. Eichler, 1974), 38-39 (apografo), tav. 141/3-6; TGV, 165, 21F/6; CAVI, nr. 7923; BA, nr. 213627; Bruxelles R2509, pittore di Monaco 2335, ARV², 1166, nr. 102; TGV, 21F/12; CAVI, nr. 2959; BA, nr. 215454; Firenze 81948, pittore di Meidias, ARV², 1312, nr. 1; TGV, 165, 21F/13, fig. 13u; CAVI, nr. 3608; BA, nr. 220493; Londra F90, da Nola, vaso eponimo del pittore di Londra F90, ARV², 1417, nr. 1; TGV, 165, 21F/15; BA, nr. 218041.
- ²¹ Vd., ad esempio, σπάθαι, Boston 03.821, da Suessula, pittore di Kadmos, ARV², 1186, nr. 29; TGV, 163, 18F/1; CAVI, nr. 2729; BA, nr. 215718.
- ²² Vd., ad esempio, λύδια, λεπαστίδες, Berlino 2188, da Vulci, pittore dell'Hephaisteion, ARV², 297, nr. 1; TGV, 155, 6F/1 e 166, 22F/4; CVA Deutschland 86. Berlin, Antikensammlung 11 (A. Schöne-Denkinger, 2009), 61-63, figg. 24 (apografo) e 25, tavv. 65/1-7 e 77/4, Beil. 13/3; CAVI, nr. 2296; BA, nr. 203086.
- ²³ Vd. Μιλησιοργή, Capua, provenienza sconosciuta, Mingazzini 1931; TGV, 167, 24F/7; ὕδριαι, Ragusa 22950, da Kamarina, TGV, 165, 21F/10.
- ²⁴ Vd. κυλίκια, Sofia (?), da Seuthopolis, TGVAdd, 146, 5F/5a, fig. 100j.
- ²⁵ Vd., in particolare, TGV, 41 e 49.
- ²⁶ Tralasciando i casi dubbi (ἄλλω su un cratere del pittore del Dinos, da Napoli, Cracovia, Università, 103, ARV², 1154, nr. 32; TGV, 49 e 113, 18C/72, fig. 6d; Ἄτθις, forse un nome proprio o un aggettivo, TGV, 115, 1D, 204; TGVAdd, 101, 1D; Χάριαι, secondo Immerwahr, nel graffito sotto l'hydria Edimburgo 1877.29, ma vd. nota 70), si possono citare: Ἀρχυ(...), su una hydria del pittore di Christie, da Siracusa, ARV², 1049, nr. 44; TGV, 102, 16B/33, fig. 5s e 112, 18C/22; CAVI, nr. 7533; BA, nr. 213613; Μνεσ(...), su due hydriai del pittore di Kleophrades, entrambe da Vulci: Monaco 2427, ARV², 189, nr. 72, 1632; TGV, 105, 21B/6; CAVI, nr. 5291; BA, nr. 201720, e Basilea, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, LG.FIS.B.04, ARV², 189, nr. 73; TGV, 105, 21B/7; CAVI, nr. 2036; BA, nr. 201721; Σάκων, su una lekythos del pittore della Phiale, mercato antiquario di Basilea, TGV, 110, 11C/4, 165, 20F/2, fig. 5w. Il nome Σιμόν è dipinto (due volte) con vernice nera sull'anfora a collo distinto Hannover 1964.9, da Cerveteri (?), gruppo di Würzburg 199, CVA Deutschland 34. Hannover, Kerstner-Museum 1 (A.-B. Follmann, 1971), 22-23 (apografo), tavv. 9/2, 11/1-2, 14/2; TGV, 77, 19A/1; CAVI, nr. 3887; BA, nr. 1853, e graffito sull'hydria Monaco 1686, da Vulci, TGV, 77, 19A/2; CAVI, nr. 5188; BA, nr. 9017962, sull'anfora a collo distinto Harvard 1933.54, gruppo di Leagros, ABV, 373, nr. 182; TGVAdd, 53, 19A/2a, fig. 3; BA, nr. 302177. Lo stesso nome, al genitivo, è insolitamente graffito, in lettere di grandi dimensioni, sul collo del cratere a colonnette Cleveland 24.197, del pittore dei Porci, CVA United States of America 15. The Cleveland Museum of Art 1 (C.G. Boulter, 1971), 18-19, tavv. 27-28; TGV, 77, 19A/3; CAVI, nr. 3197; BA, nr. 206446. Immerwahr, nel CAVI, afferma che 'the gr. is probably funerary', e a tale osservazione Johnston, in TGVAdd, 53, risponde che 'the possibility should certainly be entertained'; si noti che, secondo la datazione proposta da Boulter (c. 470-460 a.C.), il cratere di Cleveland sarebbe ben più tardo degli altri vasi con lo stesso nome graffito, che risalgono al 520-510 a.C. Inoltre, ammesso che si tratti effettivamente di un nome proprio e che la lettura sia corretta, si cita la parola Ἀχένατος, su un cratere a colonnette accostabile al gruppo di Polygnotos (Herbert), Brunswick, Maine, Bowdoin College, 1913.8, da Gela, Amyx 1958, 198, nota 79; TGV, 167, 24F/2, fig. 13m; Johnston 1996, 83 e 85, fig. 1, nr. 5; TGVAdd, 163; CAVI, nr. 2844; BA, nr. 30555. LGPN, IIIA, 87, s.v., registra Ἀχένατος in maniera dubitativa.
- ²⁷ Alle occorrenze citate in Ath. 11.483b-484c, cioè Xen. Cyr. I.2.8; Critias 88 B 34 (ed. Diels/Kranz); Archil. fr. 4 vv. 6-9; Ar. Eq. vv. 599-600; Henioch. fr. 1 Kassel/Austin; Theopomp. fr. 55 Kassel/Austin; Alex. fr. 181 Kassel/Austin; Hyp. Dem. fr. 9 Jensen; Callix. FGrHist 627 F 2c; Mnesith. fr. 45 Bertier; Polem. fr. 60 e 61 Preller, si possono aggiungere le attestazioni di kothon come forma vascolare in Ar.

- Pax v. 1094 e Sch. Ar. Pax v. 1094 (ed. Holwerda); Plut. *Lyc.* 9.4-5; Plut. *Tim.* 15.4; Poll. 6.97, 7.162, 10.30 (ed. Bethe); Suid. κ 2225-2226 (ed. Adler); Phot. κ 1289-1290 (ed. Theodoridis); in App. *Pun.* 125 la parola $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ indica proiettili incendiari.
- ²⁸ A Panofka 1829, 29 (seguito, tra gli altri, da Conze 1861), si deve l'identificazione del *kothon* con un vaso circolare, provvisto generalmente di un'ansa e con orlo incurvantesi verso l'interno; tale identificazione è messa in dubbio da Franchi de' Cavalieri 1894, 153, che propone di individuare il *kothon* 'fra i vasi in forma di ampolla o di fiasca', e da Pernice 1899, 60-61. Secondo Kirsten 1957 (ma vd. *contra* Stibbe 1992, 74) il *kothon* laconico è la c.d. *lakaina*, una coppa priva di stelo, con due anse in genere orizzontali in corrispondenza del rigonfiamento del ventre; Mingazzini 1967 (ma vd. *contra* Scheibler 1968) individua il *kothon* in un vaso a forma di borraccia; per la proposta di vedere, in quello che Panofka chiamava *kothon*, piuttosto la *plemochoe* o l'*exaleipton* delle fonti, vd. Scheibler 1964, 1968; Sparkes/Talcott 1970, 180-181; sul *kothon* vd. anche Leroy-Molinghen 1965; Ross 1971.
- ²⁹ Si rimanda, soprattutto, alle condivisibili considerazioni di Amyx 1958, 166, sulla cautela con cui bisogna affrontare l'angiolgia, cercando di valutare, di volta in volta, le diverse caratteristiche delle fonti e la loro cronologia rispetto alle realtà di cui parlano ('an undigested compilation of all the data would lead to no intelligible definitions, but only to chaos'), e di Sparkes 1975, 129, secondo cui 'no one shape will meet all the literary requirements, and it has to be admitted that usage in most cases allowed for a wide spread. The need is [...] to be able, where possible, to understand the more specific meaning that the context implies'.
- ³⁰ Vd., in generale, con derivazione da $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu$, Lattes 1896, 36-37; Buffa 1935, 250; Lejeune 1958, 90; M. Cristofani, *SE* 35 (1967) 563-564; De Simone 1968-1970, *ad indicem*; 1972, 502-504; Briquel 2016, 152; contrario a una derivazione dal greco è Morandi 1984-1985, II, 16, nr. 9, mentre Colonna 1973-1974, 140-142, preferisce ipotizzare un'origine non da $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu$ ma da un $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ supposto sulla base di Hsch. κ 4788 (ed. Latte): $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\theta\alpha$ ποτήριον. Nell'iscrizione di Narce (vd. nota 32 e contesto), Gamurrini 1894, col. 342, traduce *mi qutun* come 'sum vas', senza stabilire collegamenti con $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu$ ma considerando la parola 'affine a $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ e $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\tau\alpha$ '.
- ³¹ Iscrizione *mi qutum karkan* su due *oinochoai* subgeometriche (Louvre D 70 e D 71); vd., con altra bibliografia, Pottier 1897, 37, cat. D 70, tav. 31, e cat. D 71; Danielsson 1910, 100-102; Buffa 1935, 249-250, nr. 889; Lejeune 1958, 85-90, nrr. I-II, figg. 1-7; *TLE*, nr. 63; Colonna 1973-1974, 140, nrr. 1-2; Agostiniani 1982, 78, nrr. 137-138; Briquel 1991; Gran-Aymerich 1991; *ET*, Cr 2.18 e 2.19; Bagnasco Gianni 1996, 107-108, nrr. 82-83; Briquel 2016, 151-153, nrr. 64-65. Iscrizione *mi ates qutum peticinas* su *oinochoe* d'impasto; vd., con altra bibliografia, L. Cavagnaro Vanoni, *SE* 31 (1963) 206-207, nr. 3; M. Cristofani, *SE* 35 (1967) 563-564; *TLE*, nr. 865a; Colonna 1973-1974, 140, nr. 3, tav. 35; Agostiniani 1982, 80, nr. 147; *ET*, Cr 2.30; Bagnasco Gianni 1996, 53-54, nr. 5.
- ³² Iscrizione *mi qutum lemauṣnaṣ* su *oinochoe* d'impasto; vd., con altra bibliografia, Gamurrini 1894, coll. 322-323, fig. 167 e coll. 342-343, nr. 3; Danielsson 1910, 98-100; Giacomelli 1963, 270, nr. XLVI; *TLE*, nr. 28a; Colonna 1973-1974, 140, nr. 4; Agostiniani 1982, 68, nr. 87; Cristofani 1988, 22, nr. 4; *ET*, Fa 2.1; Bagnasco Gianni 1996, 156-157, nr. 132; sull'iscrizione falisca *eco quton euoteno-sio* vd., con altra bibliografia, Buffa 1935, 270, nr. 974; Vetter 1953, 285, nr. 242/B; Giacomelli 1963, 44-46, nr. 2a; Colonna 1973-1974, 140, nr. 5.
- ³³ Camporeale 1991, 142-144, nr. 145, tav. 109, a, c, e, g (provenienza sconosciuta).
- ³⁴ Per la piccola *oinochoe* vd. *ET*, Ve. 2.1; per la brocchetta vd. Camporeale 1991, 22-25, nr. 22, tav. 12, a-d, figg. 2-3 (provenienza sconosciuta).
- ³⁵ *ARV*², XLIX-LI.
- ³⁶ Broneer 1959, 335, nr. 9, tav. 70i, inv. IP 2047a ('fragment of one-handled cup with flat bottom', degli inizi del V sec. a.C.) (vd. anche *CAVI*, nr. 3315; *BA*, nr. 9017213); lo studioso interpreta $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\theta\omega\nu$ come angionimo e, riconsiderando una dedica frammentaria $\eta\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ Ποσει[δῶ- $\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ---] ritrovata su una forma analoga, propone di sottintendere $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu$, piuttosto che ποτήριον o $\kappa\acute{o}\tau\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ come ipotizzato in precedenza (Broneer 1955, 133-134, nr. 19, tav. 52a, inv. IP 335, vd. anche *CAVI*, nr. 4020; *BA*, nr. 9017672).
- ³⁷ Tra gli studiosi che considerano plausibile tale interpretazione Scheibler 1964, 72; Leroy-Molinghen 1965, 209; Mingazzini 1967, 353-354; Scheibler 1968, 390; Lazzarini 1973-1974, 365-369, nr. 33, tav. 76/1 e 3; TGV, 249; più cauta la posizione di Sparkes/Talcott 1970, 8-9 e 70, che esprimono riserve sull'interpretazione del graffito come angionimo e non escludono possa trattarsi di un nome di persona, 'conceivably a pun if the owner's name was in fact the same as the name of a shape'; analoga posizione in Sparkes 1975, 128-129; per i nomi propri $\text{K}\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu$ e $\text{K}\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu$ vd., rispettivamente, *LGPN*, I, 268, nrr. 1-2 (Eretria, IV-III sec. a.C.); II, 269, nr. 1 (Atene, IV sec. a.C.) e *LGPN*, I, 280, nr. 1 (Rodi, c. 68 a.C.).
- ³⁸ Vd. almeno Weber 1983a, 426-456.
- ³⁹ Vd., con ampia discussione sull'*oinochoe* di forma 8, W. Schiering, in Mallwitz/Schiering, 1964, 169-182; vd. anche Sparkes 1968, 8-9, e, per esemplari dall'agora di Atene, Sparkes/Talcott 1970, 72-74, 250-252, nrr. 201-222, tav. 11, fig. 3.
- ⁴⁰ Beazley 1928, 59-60, a proposito dell'*oinochoe* Cracovia 1260, del pittore di Penelope, su cui vd. anche *ARV*², 1302, nr. 28 e *BA*, nr. 216811.
- ⁴¹ Soprattutto in inventari e rendiconti del IV-II sec. a.C., specialmente in ambito attico e delio: *IG* II², nr. 47, l. 6: $[\chi\acute{\omega}]\theta\omega\nu$ e l. 11-12: $\chi\acute{\omega}[\theta\omega\nu]$ ἢ ποτήριον μικρόν; nr. 1416, l. 10: $[\chi\acute{\omega}]\theta[\omega]\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ χαλκοί; nr. 1424a, l. 265: $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu$ e l. 278: $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ χαλκοί; nr. 1425 B, l. 393: $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu$; nr. 1522, l. 33: $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu$; nr. 1524 B, l. 242-243: $[\chi\acute{\omega}]\theta\omega\nu$; nr. 1544, l. 53: $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu\epsilon\varsigma$; *I. Eleusis*, nr. 149 (= *IG* II², nr. 1542), l. 18-19: $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ III εἰς πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχει e nr. 158 (= *IG* II², nr. 1544), l. 53: $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu\epsilon\varsigma$; *I. Oropos*, nr. 319, l. 3: $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu\epsilon$ δύο (IV sec. a.C.), nr. 325, l. 9 (= *IG* VII, nr. 3498): $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu$ οὐκ ἐντελής (c. 200 a.C.); nr. 326, l. 16: $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu$ (II sec. a.C.); *IG* XI/2, nr. 154 A, l. 34: Ἡρακλείδῃ τὸν κρατήρα καὶ τὸ οὖς τοῦ $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ἐπισκευάσαντι e B, l. 55: $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu[\alpha]$; nr. 159 A, l. 48: τὸν $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu[\alpha]$; nr. 161 A, l. 111: τοῦ $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τοῦ πυθμένος κολλήσαντι Ἀριστάρχῳ; nr. 162 A, l. 49: τὸν $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ τὸν χαλκὸν ἐπισκευάσαντι?; nr. 199 B, l. 88: τὸν $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ το[---]; nr. 203 B, l. 31: $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu$ Πυθούον; *I. Délos*, nr. 1429 B, col. II, l. 74: ταῦτα ἐνεστὶν ἐν $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ κεραμείῳ e nr. 1432, Ab, col. I, l. 47: ταῦτα ἐνεστὶν ἐν $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ κεραμείῳ. Un'altra attestazione epigrafica, riguardante il risanamento di un $\kappa\acute{o}\theta\omega\nu$ che si era rotto, è in un elenco di $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ dell'*Asklepieion* di Epidauro (*IG* IV/1, nr. 121, ll. 79-89, IV sec. a.C.). In *IG* XII Suppl, nr. 365 (II

- sec. a.C., decreto onorifico dei Sarapiasti di Thasos), Il. 17-20: καὶ ἐν τῷ κώθωνι συνομόψηφος ἔσται μετὰ τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ | τοῦ γραμματέως καθότι καὶ ἐκεῖνοις προστέ[τα]ται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, non è forse da escludere un uso della parola come angionimo, contrariamente all'opinione di Seyrig 1927, 227 ('ici, l'on ne supposera évidemment pas que l'aimable *cothon* servit à recueillir les votes: les Sarapistes avaient simplement jugé que nulle part les affaires administratives ne se traiteraient plus aisément qu'au banquet').
- ⁴² Vd. l'inventario I. *Oropos*, nr. 324 (= IG VII, nr. 303), l. 56: κωθώνιον Κρατήσιον (III sec. a.C.).
- ⁴³ Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 116116, pittore di Londra E 488, senza indicazione di provenienza, ARV², 1120, nr. 1; Johnston 1973, 268-269; TGV, 113, 18C/66; 164, 19F/11; 166, 22F/3; 167, 23F/2; 167, 24F/3; Hansen 1983, 247, nr. 443; CAVI, nr. 5477. Per altri esempi di συμμι- e simili vd. TGV, 164, 19F e 167, 23F; sull'uso di κρατήρ Κορίνθιος, κρατήρ Κορινθίουργής e denominazioni simili per indicare il cratere a colonnette vd. Rumpf 1927, 45, 123; Beazley 1927, 350; Smith 1932, 110, nota 60; Beazley 1941, 597, nr. 9; Amyx 1958, 198, nota 79; TGV, 161, 13F e 167, 24F; Curti 2001, 60.
- ⁴⁴ Secondo Johnston, in TGV, 249, 'much recent debate seems to have established the type 8 oenochoe or mug as at least one of the shapes termed κώθων' e, oltre all'esemplare da Isthmia (vd. *supra*), anche il graffito sotto il cratere Napoli 116116 potrebbe essere un elemento a sostegno di questa proposta perché, tra le varie forme identificate con il *kothon*, l'unica ad essere ancora prodotta quando il graffito fu realizzato era, appunto, l'*oinochoe* di forma 8.
- ⁴⁵ LVG, I, 1992, 279-280, s.v. ἀρουσαίνα; 281-282, s.v. ἀρουσαῖς; 285-289, s.v. ἀρουστήρ; 290-291, s.v. ἀρουστis; 292-294, s.v. ἀρούστιχος; 295-296, s.v. ἀρουστis; 297-299, s.v. ἀρούταινα; 300-301, s.v. ἀρουτήρ; vd. anche Gulletta 1991, 194.
- ⁴⁶ Ath. 10.424b-c; vd. anche Ath. *Epit.* (ed. Peppink, II/2, 30).
- ⁴⁷ Semon. fr. 25 West.
- ⁴⁸ Vos 1981, 35, nota 13.
- ⁴⁹ Alc. fr. 70 Diehl, v. 9. Della parola prima di ἀρούστηρ si conserva solo il v finale, mentre la parola dopo μέγαν è interamente scomparsa. Il papiro che ha tramandato il frammento alcaico è stato edito, senza proporre integrazioni per il passo qui citato, da Schubart/von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1907, 6-8, nr. XII/2 P. 9810. Tra le integrazioni proposte negli studi successivi: [ἔλω]ν ἀρούστηρ ἔς κέραμον μέγαν / [βάψον] (Vogliano 1908, 55); [λάβω]ν (Diehl 1936, fr. 70); [μὴ πλεῦ]ν (Reinach/Puech 1937, fr. 53); [βάπτω]ν (Bölte *apud* Diehl 1936); [βάπτη]ν (Gallavotti 1958, fr. C1). Non propongo integrazioni, ma accettano l'interpretazione di Vogliano, Lobel/Page 1955, fr. 58/C I ('subaudiend. esse verbi βάπτην partem vidit Vogliano') e Liberman 1999, fr. 58 ('[βάπτω]ν Bölte, infinitivum βάπτην alicubi desiderat Vogliano'); vd. anche LVG, I, 1992, 285, in cui l'aggettivo μέγαν è riferito all'ἀρουστήρ e non al κέραμον, e Rodríguez Somolinos 1998, 87, s.v. ἀρουστήρ.
- ⁵⁰ Callim. *Aet. lib. inc.* fr. 178 Pfeiffer, vv. 15-20 (la parola ἀρουστήρ εἶσι δ' al v. 17); vd. Tapia Zúñiga 1986, 91, s.v. ἀρουστήρ. Sull'episodio cui apparteneva il fr. 178 Pfeiffer vd., in particolare, Fabian 1991; Acosta-Hughes et al. 2011, 170, 337, 361-363, 400-403 e *passim*.
- ⁵¹ Hdt. 2.168; su questo passo vd. TGV, 25 e 224, con le osservazioni di Vos 1981, 37.
- ⁵² Hsch. α 7561 (ed. Latte): ἀρουστήρ οἶνον ἀρουστήρ. κοτύλη ma vd. Bonanno 1968, 94-95: 'io credo che il significato di ἀρουστήρ qui chiosato da Esichio non sia quello normale di 'tazza per attingere' (cf. *Et. M.* 151,2 [...]), quanto piuttosto quello, tecnico, di 'misura per liquidi', documentato in Herodot. II 168 [...]. Che anche κοτύλη potesse assumere un'accezione specifica del genere [...] è d'altra parte ampiamente attestato [...]. Penso quindi si debba leggere e attribuire come segue: ἀρουστήρ· "οἶνον ἀρουστήρ" (Herodot. II 168). κοτύλη; vd., inoltre, Hsch. κ 3813: κοτύλη· εἶδος μέτρου. Un'altra occorrenza di ἀρουστήρ è in Hsch. α 7562: ἀρούστεις τὰς ἀπνευστί πόσεις [...] τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἀρουστήρας καὶ ἀρουστήχους ἐκάλουν.
- ⁵³ Poll. 6.19 (ed. Bethe): ὅτῳ δ'οἶνος ἀρύεται, ἀρουστήρ, ἀρούστιχος, ἔφηβος, οἰνήρουσις, κοτύλη, λεπαστή, οἶνοχόη, κύαθος e 10.75: ὃ δὲ ἀρύεσθαι τὸν οἶνον, ἔστιν ἀρουστήρ καὶ ἀρούστιχος καὶ κύαθος καὶ οἶνοχόη καὶ οἰνήρουσις καὶ ἔφηβος καὶ λεπαστή. Poll. 4.168-169, 7.195, 10.113, considera la κοτύλη anche come unità di misura per liquidi e aridi.
- ⁵⁴ *Etym. Magn.* 151.2-4 (ed. Gaisford): Ἄρουσις καὶ ἄρουστις· ἀρουστήχους, τουτέστι τοὺς οἶνοχόους. Ἄρουστήρ γὰρ ἀγγεῖον τι, οἶνον κύαθος, ὃ ἔστιν ἀρύεσθαι, κοτύλη. A proposito di quest'ultimo vaso, *Etym. Magn.* 533.9-10 precisa: λέγεται κοτύλη καὶ εἶδος ποτηρίου καὶ εἶδος μέτρου.
- ⁵⁵ Them. Or. 23.299c (ed. Schenkl/Downey/Norman); dopo il passo citato, il testo è interessato da una lacuna.
- ⁵⁶ IG II², nr. 1638, l. 57: ἀρουστήρας ΔΔIII l e nr. 1640, l. 20: ἀρουστήρες ΔΔIII (IV sec. a.C.); su ἀρουστήρ nelle iscrizioni attiche vd. Threatte 1980-1996, II, 559 e 695.
- ⁵⁷ I. *Delos*, nr. 104, l. 58: τὸν ἀρουστήρα ἀργυροῦν, Il. 130 e 133: ἀρουστήρες ΔIII.
- ⁵⁸ IG XI/2, nr. 154 A, l. 66: ἀρουστήρας τρεῖς e Il. 67-68: ἀρουστή[[ρας] τρεῖς; nr. 161 C, Il. 63-64: ἀρουστή[[ρας] μεγάλου[ς]; nr. 164 B, Il. 25-26: ἀρουστήρας μεγάλους III· μικροὺς [ΔΔIII] (III sec. a.C.).
- ⁵⁹ IG XII 4/1, nr. 333 Bab, l. 32: ἀρουστήρ κ[---] (IV sec. a.C.).
- ⁶⁰ Sui graffiti commerciali vd., con altra bibliografia, TGV; TGVAdd; CAVI e, con speciale riferimento a quelli su anfore panatenaiche, Vos 1981; Valavanis 1986; Bentz 1998, 92-95; 2003.
- ⁶¹ Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, PC 7, da Vulci, vicino al pittore di Berlino 1833, Hackl 1909, 47, tipo LXVI, nr. 549, tav. II; ABV, 407, nr. 1; CVA *The Netherlands* 3. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 1 (M.F. Jonkees-Vos, 1972), 36-37, tavv. 46-47 e 53/10 (apografo); TGV, 154, 4F/2; Vos 1981, 35-38, fig. 1/1, tav. 14c; SEG XXX, nr. 332; SEG XXXIII, nr. 63; Langridge 1993, 427-428, cat. N32, tav. 75, fig. 39a (apografo); Threatte 1980-1996, II, 695; Bentz 1998, 92-94, fig. 4.1/1 e 144, nr. 5.069, tavv. 60-61; CAVI, nr. 4192; BA, nr. 303077. In quest'anfora e nelle anfore Toronto 919.5.148 e Monaco 9557 (vd. *infra*, note 62-63) dopo l'indicazione di capacità è graffito un gruppo di tre lettere di difficile spiegazione, che Vos 1981, 38, seguita da Bentz 1998, 92, interpreta, in maniera dubitativa, come indicazioni di prezzo; a proposito di Monaco 9557, Bentz 2003, 113, osserva che 'la signification du second graffito, placé sous le premier, n'est pas claire'.
- ⁶² Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 919.5.148 (già 350), provenienza sconosciuta, pittore di Eucharides, ABV, 395, nr. 2; TGV, 154, 4F/1; CVA *Canada* 1. *Royal Ontario Museum Toronto* 1 (J.W. Hayes, 1981), 17, tav. 23; Langridge 1993, 363, cat. E53, fig. 39c (apografo); Bentz 1998, 92-94, fig. 4.1/3 e 142, nr. 5.048, tav. 57; CAVI, nr. 7723; BA, nr. 302965.

- ⁶³ Monaco, Antikensammlungen, 9557, frammento di piede, Hackl 1909, 47-48, tipo LXVI, nr. 550, tav. II; TGV, 154, 4F/3; Vos 1981, 35, nota 16; Bentz 1998, 92-94, fig. 4.1/2 e 166, nr. 5.372; 2003, 113, fig. 33; CVA Deutschland 78. München, Antikensammlungen 14 (E. Kunze-Götte, 2005), 65-66 (apografo), Beil. 17/2, tav. 61, figg. 3-4; BA, nr. 9026878.
- ⁶⁴ Per ottenere misure che si avvicinino alla reale capacità delle anfore, Vos 1981, 37-38, seguita da Bentz 1998, 92, ipotizza che l'*aryster* equivalga, in questi graffiti, alla *kotyle* eginetica (l. 0,379) e non a quella attica (l. 0,2736).
- ⁶⁵ Boulogne 441, da Vulci, vaso eponimo del pittore di Boulogne 441, ABV, 290, nr. 1; Bentz 1998, 92-94 e 129, nr. 6.070, tav. 22; CAVI, nr. 2836; BA, nr. 320342.
- ⁶⁶ Vos 1981, 35; vd. anche TGV, 247, 4F, nota 3; TGVAdd, 146. Bentz 1998, 94, ipotizza uno scioglimento come ἀρ(υστή) del monogramma, seguito da quattro linee verticali, sull'anfora panatenaica L'Havana 226 (Bentz 1998, 131, nr. 6.086; TGVAdd, 177, nr. 25a e 178, nr. 36a), ma non avanza altre proposte interpretative.
- ⁶⁷ Parigi, Cabinet des Médailles, 244, da Vulci, vicino al pittore di Berlino 1833, ABV, 407, nr. 2; TGV, 224 e 247, 4F, note 6 e 9; Bentz 1998, 92-94 e 144, nr. 5.070, tavv. 60-61; CAVI, nr. 6093; BA, nr. 303083; il numerale attico, composto da dodici Δ e tre I, secondo Vos 1981, 36, non può sottintendere *arysteres* = *kotylai*; Johnston, in TGV, 224 e 247, 4F, nota 6, ipotizza invece che anche in questo caso il conteggio avvenga in *arysteres*, mentre Bentz 1998, 94, suppone l'uso di *kotylai* attiche.
- ⁶⁸ ABV, 407.
- ⁶⁹ Vos 1981, 38; vd. anche Valavanis 1986, 458; Bentz 1998, 92-94.
- ⁷⁰ Edimburgo 1877.29, Polygnotos, ARV², 1032, nr. 59; BA, nr. 213442. Beazley 1941, 597, nr. 10, pubblicando il graffito, scrive: 'a score across the middle, as often; below that, the word ΥΑΡΙΑΙ; below that, ΑΔΥΣΤΗΙΔ (sic); and below that a ligature', osservando che 'the complete word ἀρυστήρ does not occur elsewhere in graffiti, but Hackl has already explained the ΑΡΥΣΤΗΡ of two bf. Panathenais [...] as for ἀρυστήρ or the like' (il riferimento è a Leiden PC 7 e Monaco 9557, su cui vd. note 61 e 63); l'apografo edito in Johnston 1974, 151-152, nr. 12 è leggibile come ΥΑΡΙΑΙ | ΑΡΥΣΤΗΡ | ΔΙ (ma Johnston, in TGV, 91, 3B/2a precisa che, dopo l'esame autotipico, tale apografo si è rivelato incompleto); Immerwahr, in CAVI, nr. 3403 trascrive Χ<α>ρίαι | ἀρυστή(ρες) | ΔΙ ('31 ladles for Charias = Chairias'); a proposito della lettura Χ<α>ρίαι, Johnston, in TGVAdd, 160, osserva: 'it is true that the first letter is composed of two arcs of a circle, back-to-back, and the second appears to lack any horizontal stroke [...]; in context, however, ὕδριαι seems the preferable reading; if so, we might just entertain the notion that the first letter in the third line could be a delta, hence numerical'; sul graffito vd. anche TGV, 112, 18C/14a; 154, 4F/5; 165, 21F/4; CVA Great Britain 16. The National Museum of Scotland Edinburgh 1 (E. Moignard, 1989), 22 (apografo), tav. 20/1-5.
- ⁷¹ Anfora a collo distinto Londra B225/68.6-10.1, gruppo di Leagros, ABV, 371, nr. 144; TGV, 153, 2F/47, tav. 6, nr. 28; CAVI, nr. 4262; BA, nr. 302139.
- ⁷² Anfora, già coll. Bonaparte di Canino, *Museum étrusque* 1829, 158, nr. 1710, tav. 39 (apografo); Hackl 1909, 47, tipo LXVI, nr. 548, tav. II; TGV, 153, 2F/48, fig. 11m e 126, 3E/59; CAVI, nr. 4848.
- ⁷³ Anfora a collo distinto, mercato antiquario londinese, TGVAdd, 114, 3E/59a; 127, 11E/49; 144, 2F/48a, fig. 62, con l'osservazione che '48a is a significant addition with its 18 αρυ..., a few more than the 14 companions of 47 and 48' (sui nrr. 47 e 48 vd. le due note precedenti).
- ⁷⁴ TGV, 222; vd. anche TGV, 229: 'Ionian writers use both κύαθος and ἀρυστήρ to refer to ladles or something very similar. Both can be measures, the *aryster* larger than the *kyathos*. Etymologically the *aryster* should primarily be a dipper, but on the one piece where the full name appears, 4F, 5 (vd. Edimburgo 1877.29, nota 70), such a meaning cannot be applied, again for chronological reasons, if a pottery vase is meant. The APV of 2F, 47 and 48 (vd. Londra B225 e *Museum étrusque*, nr. 1710, note 71-72) could well, however, be our *kyathoi*, since the marked vases belong to their period of production, and surely the Ionian who cut 2F, 47 and 48 called our *kyathos* either κύαθος or ἀρυστήρ'.
- ⁷⁵ CAVI, nrr. 4262 e 4848; analogamente a Immerwahr, considerano come un *sigma* il segno a tre tratti nel graffito sotto l'anfora da Vulci (vd. nota 72) Letronne 1838, 6 ('ἀρυστιδες étant pour ἀρυστιδες, forme usitée'); CIG IV, nr. 8345, con lettura ἀρυσ[τ]ιδες; Schöne 1877, 657, nr. 26, con lettura ἀρυστιδ(ες) e Hackl 1909, 47 e 70, con rimando ad ἀρυστις e ἀρυστιχος; per gli altri due graffiti a lui noti (nr. 549, Leiden PC 7, e nr. 550, Monaco 9557, vd. note 61 e 63), Hackl 1909, 70, propone invece di riferire le abbreviazioni ad ἀρυστήρ.
- ⁷⁶ TGV, 153; a proposito di Londra B225, peraltro, Johnston, dopo un controllo autotipico, ha cortesemente comunicato *per ep.*: 'if you get the light wrong it does appear that there is a sigma, but there are definitely only two diagonal strokes cut', e inoltre: 'these graffiti are in Ionic script and so 3-bar sigma is impossible'.
- ⁷⁷ Per limitarsi a qualche esempio del tipo 2F, gruppo VII (nome vascolare abbreviato seguito da numerale), vd., tra gli altri, l'anfora a profilo continuo Louvre F212 (ABV, 368, nr. 103; TGV, 152, 2F/33, fig. 11e; CAVI, nr. 6345; BA, nr. 302098) e l'*hydria* Monaco 1711 (ABV, 360, nr. 3; TGV, 152, 2F/40, fig. 11k; BA, nr. 301998), entrambe del gruppo di Leagros.
- ⁷⁸ Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 126056, pittore di Geras, ARV², 287, nr. 32; sul graffito vd. TGVAdd, 114, 3E/54; 145, 4F/4, fig. 7v (corregge l'errato rimando alla fig. 7u in TGV, passato in Padgett 1989, 85-86, cat. G.32); BA, nr. 202603. A proposito dei due segni all'estrema sinistra, Johnston, *per ep.*, scrive: 'It is a pity that the piece has no provenance; but I would think that it is a non-Greek abbreviation - but it could still be numerical, even if it is rather carelessly cut - definitely not the same hand(s) as the rest'.
- ⁷⁹ TGV, 208.
- ⁸⁰ Manni Piraino 1976, 686, nr. 106, fig. 34; Johnston 1993-1994, 168; TGVAdd, 145, 4F/4a, fig. 114.
- ⁸¹ Orsi/Lanza 1990, 69, sep. 920, nr. 3, tav. 38; TGVAdd, 145, 4F/4b, fig. 115.
- ⁸² Johnston 1984, 126, nota 3: 'perhaps the most difficult of the vase-name abbreviations in the group in question, APY, has now found its true supplementation, ἀρυστιχος in an Ionian context of the 6th century, at Olbia Pontica' e TGVAdd, 145; a proposito delle attestazioni da Himera e Kamarina, Johnston, in TGVAdd, 19, osserva che 'in view of the rarity of personal names in Αρυ- it is probable that at least one [...] is a vase-name abbreviation; the root αρυ- can perhaps be associated with any pots which draw off wine from the krater, but one would certainly like to find one of the range of such vase-names used more clearly of a cup or plain bowl before accepting the proposition';

- per il graffito, di controversa lettura, in cui è la parola ἀγούσιος, vd. SEG XXXII, nr. 724 e SEG XXXV, nr. 858.
- ⁸³ Arena 2002, 58, nr. 73b (SEG LII, nr. 886), secondo cui 'si presenta spontanea l'integrazione ἀγυ[στήρ] e l'ipotesi di un origine ionica del manufatto'.
- ⁸⁴ Lang 1976, 91-92, cat. L 25 (P 16202), tav. 57, con lettura: ἀγυσ[---] ἰθεο[---] e con l'osservazione che 'the second line might be a personal name or a month'.
- ⁸⁵ Yalenko 1982, 268, nota 23; 1995, 250, nr. 13 e 246, tav. I (apografo), con lettura ἡμὶ ἀγυστήρ; SEG XLV 1026, 12, con lettura ἡμαγυστήρ(ος) proposta da Vinogradov.
- ⁸⁶ TGV, 62, nota 5.
- ⁸⁷ TGV, 32: 'vase names for which we cannot find a suitable identification are *aryster*, *lepastis*, *lydion*, *myrtote*, *oxis*, *pellinion*, *skaphis* and *tryblion*. None of these appear to be self-referent and most appear in batch and/or price inscriptions on larger vases'.
- ⁸⁸ Hippoc. Genit. 9,3.
- ⁸⁹ Villard/Blondé 1992, 102-104 (Villard) e 114-115, fig. 11 (Blondé); vd. anche Villard 1992, 95; per esempi dall'agora di Atene vd. Sparkes/Talcott 1970, 78-79, 254-255, nrr. 255-289, tavv. 12-13, con datazione tra V e IV sec. a.C.
- ⁹⁰ In ARV², XLIX-LI, Beazley distingue tra una forma 5A, con parte superiore dell'ansa allo stesso livello dell'orlo, e una forma 5B, con ansa sormontante.
- ⁹¹ Vd. almeno Weber 1983a, 147-173, 367-404; 1983b.
- ⁹² Per esemplari dall'agora di Atene con δεμόσιος scritto per esteso o abbreviato in δε- vd. Sparkes/Talcott 1970, 78, e soprattutto Lang/Crosby 1964, 56-58, 61-62, cat. LM1-LM7, tavv. 16 e 35, con datazione tra la fine del VI e il V sec. a.C., con la dimostrazione che tali vasi avevano una capacità di una *kotyle* e con l'ipotesi che l'aggettivo concordi con la forma κότυλος, per giustificare l'uso del maschile, invece del femminile richiesto sottintendendo κοτύλη, o del neutro richiesto da μέτρον; sulla base dell'identificazione proposta, si potrebbe, con la massima cautela, riflettere sull'ipotesi di sottintendere il maschile ἀγυστήρ. A proposito degli esemplari ellenistici dell'agora di Atene, Rotroff 1997, 128, osserva che 'the uniformity of size noted in Classical examples persisted, and the *olpe* probably continued to serve as a measuring cup, although it was much less common than it had been in the Classical period'; un esemplare con dipinta l'iscrizione δεμόσιος (Praga, Università) è pubblicato da Frel 1964.
- ⁹³ Vd. nota 78.

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Storie di lite 'ordinaria' nel gruppo fittile di attori comici da Tebe

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Abstract

A terracotta group which depicts two comedians was found in the recent excavation of the northeastern necropolis of Thebes, in Boeotia. Analysis of the costume and the compositional scheme used, and comparison with similar representations allow us to propose a more accurate chronology of the group, and to identify the types of masks. In contrast to many individual statuettes, this group occurs more rarely; however, it offers the opportunity to identify the subject. This is the dispute between the two servants for a bag of food, a recurring motif in the intrigue of the play, which was standardized in the New Comedy.

Tra i materiali restituiti dagli scavi condotti nella necropoli nord-orientale di Tebe, un gruppo fittile, edito di recente,¹ ritrae lo svolgimento di un'azione scenica di ambientazione comica. Sebbene non sia possibile stabilire quale delle commedie sia rappresentata, lo schema compositivo utilizzato e la comparazione con testimonianze analoghe si rivelano utili nel precisare i limiti cronologici della raffigurazione e nel tentativo di aggiungere qualche dato per l'identificazione dei personaggi. Il lungo apprezzamento della stessa 'situazione comica' nel mondo greco e romano e il riconoscimento dello stesso soggetto in un ampio gruppo di statuette singole sembra, inoltre, legittimare la validità della proposta di vedere nella scena il riflesso di un motivo ricorrente nell'intrigo della commedia, quello del litigio tra due servi, la cui importanza per l'evolversi dell'intreccio è confermata anche nei testi rimasti. Gruppi fittili e singole terrecotte assumono, pertanto, il valore di ritaglio di un canovaccio più complesso, reso ancora più evidente dalla netta corrispondenza che si registra, soprattutto nella Commedia Nuova, tra costume e carattere.

IL GRUPPO FITTILE

La terracotta beotica (fig. 1) è stata rinvenuta negli strati superficiali del settore sud della necropoli. Originariamente facente parte di un corredo funebre, è stata quindi oggetto di uno dei molteplici disturbi post-deposizionali, tra riutilizzi e sovrapposizioni di tombe, che si osservano in questo grande spazio funerario² e che si accentuano tra la seconda metà del III secolo a.C. e la prima metà del secolo successivo, in concomitanza con lo sfruttamento intensivo dell'area, utilizzata

solo sporadicamente tra l'età tardo-ellenistica e gli inizi dell'età imperiale,³ e poi abbandonata. A tali disturbi va imputato, probabilmente, anche il carattere frammentario dell'esemplare. Pur essendo stato parzialmente restaurato e ricomposto da numerosi frammenti, in entrambe le figure rappresentate mancano: la testa, l'avambraccio e la mano destra, e alcuni frammenti della parte centrale anteriore; risarcite in gesso sono anche due



Fig. 1. Gruppo fittile di attori comici dalla necropoli nord-orientale di Tebe. Tebe, Museo Archeologico, s.n.i. (foto Autore).



Fig. 2. Retro del gruppo di Tebe (foto Autore).

grosse porzioni del retro (fig. 2), in corrispondenza del lato sinistro e della metà inferiore della composizione. Nonostante questo, l'esemplare, giustamente inserito nel novero dei prodotti di questa classe caratterizzati da un alto *standard* tecnico-qualitativo, mantiene anche il suo cromatismo originario. Sull'argilla beige-rosata, che contraddistingue molti dei prodotti tebani, è stato steso, infatti, un sottile strato di ingubbiatura bianca e, al di sopra di questo, è stato utilizzato del colore bruno-rossastro per i costumi, del rosa per l'incarnato naturale di mani e piedi, e del giallo per l'oggetto centrale: un cesto.

Ricavato da una matrice nitida che ha permesso di restituire vari elementi con freschezza di dettaglio, alcuni piccoli ritocchi sono evidenti nella rifinitura dei particolari, quali il pannello dei vestiti o le maniche dei costumi, e nella definizione delle parti realizzate a mano e congiunte al resto in un secondo momento, come le braccia. Un grande foro di assemblaggio ovale occupa la parte centrale del lato posteriore, non lavorato.

Il gruppo, le cui dimensioni originarie dovevano superare di poco i venti centimetri,⁴ raffigura due personaggi che insistono su un'alta base rettangolare ricavata dalla stessa matrice.⁵ I due, l'uno rivolto frontalmente verso l'osservatore (A) e l'altro di profilo (B), sembrano contendersi un

cesto di vimini posto al centro, afferrandolo per il manico. Che si tratti di attori comici non vi è alcun dubbio. Entrambi, infatti, indossano una calzamaglia rossa il cui tessuto lanoso è qui reso con piccole impressioni che determinano un intreccio di linee non regolari. Al di sopra di questa, il personaggio alla sinistra dell'osservatore (A), reca solo l'*ἐξωμῖς* - un abbigliamento che solitamente si addice agli schiavi⁶ - consistente in un lembo di stoffa che, fasciando la vita e la parte inferiore del corpo, ricade sul braccio sinistro, coprendolo parzialmente. Il braccio destro, discosto dal busto e sollevato, sembrerebbe sottolineare il suo interloquire con il pubblico o accentuare lo sforzo per bilanciare il corpo nel gesto di tirare a sé la sporta di vettovaglie. Diverso è il costume del personaggio di destra (B), che indossa un corto chitonisco pesante e una *chlaina* allacciata al collo,⁷ forse utilizzata dallo *skeuopòs* (e poi dal coroplasta) per suggerire che si tratta di un viandante o, più genericamente, di un personaggio proveniente dall'esterno. Il suo braccio destro doveva emergere, nella visione frontale, dalla spalla dell'altro personaggio, restituendo all'osservatore - pur nella posa da palcoscenico - l'impressione della foga della disputa.

IDENTIFICAZIONE E FORTUNA DEL SOGGETTO

Si tratta, in ogni caso, di una scena riconducibile alla Commedia Nuova, la commedia di ambiente inaugurata da Menandro, in cui il senso comico assume un tono più sottile e meno caricaturale; una pacatezza che, pur avvalendosi di un *cliché* e di maschere stereotipe, si riflette *in primis* nella posa e nei costumi.

Il soggetto raffigurato, con personaggi che reggono una pesante sporta di provviste, infatti, è già noto nella Commedia Antica.⁸ Lo stesso Aristofane, che nella scena iniziale delle *Vespe* (vv. 54-61) si vanta di non ricorrere a questi espedienti triti e ritriti, diviene indiretto testimone della frequenza di questo episodio:

φέρε νυν, κατείπω τοῖς θεαταῖς τὸν λόγον,
ὀλίγ' ἄθ' ὑπειπὼν πρῶτον αὐτοῖσιν ταδί,
μηδὲν παρ' ἡμῶν προσδοκᾶν λίαν μέγα,
μηδ' αὖ γέλωτα Μεγαρόθεν κεκλεμμένον.
ἡμῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστ' οὔτε κάρυ' ἐκ φορμίδος
δοῦλῳ διαρριπτοῦντε τοῖς θεωμένοις,
οὔθ' Ἡρακλῆς τὸ δειπνὸν ἐξαπατάμενος,
οὔδ' αὖθις ἀνασελγαινόμενος Εὐριπίδης.⁹

L'entrata in scena di personaggi vacillanti e schiacciati sotto il peso di pesanti carichi di

vettovaglie doveva sicuramente suscitare molta ilarità anche nella Commedia di Mezzo, come una nutrita serie di terrecotte teatrali dimostra e di cui almeno un esempio, risalente ad un archetipo attico, è restituito dal corredo di una tomba infantile della stessa necropoli di Tebe.¹⁰

Mitigato dell'acceso colorismo delle fasi precedenti, il motivo del cesto carico di cibi e beni di ogni genere, posto sulla testa di schiavi e vian-danti o saldamente ancorato al loro braccio, sopravvive, poi, standardizzandosi, nella Nea. In quest'ultima, infatti, la *vis comica*, non più esagerata e caratterizzata da una maggiore compostezza e classicità, si stempera in situazioni equivocate e paradossali che traggono spunto ancora di più dal vissuto quotidiano e in personaggi che, proprio per il fatto di essere tipi ben caratterizzati, offrono al pubblico una maggiore possibilità di identificazione con la vita reale.

Si giustifica così il ritrovamento nella coroplastica ellenistica di argomento teatrale di canestri, cestini, gerle, corbe e panieri in un gruppo discretamente cospicuo di singole repliche fittili.¹¹

La tipologia presente nell'esemplare di Tebe: un cesto di giunchi intrecciati, indicato nella letteratura teatrale comica (e non solo!) con il termine *phormòs*,¹² trova agganci tipologici piuttosto convincenti sia con prodotti inquadrabili tra l'età tardo-classica e gli inizi dell'età ellenistica, ritrovandosi nel contenitore sorretto da una terracotta di attore comico del gruppo di New York,¹⁴ ancora riconducibile al repertorio della Commedia di Mezzo¹³ e in quello raffigurato sul cratere a calice apulo, forse da Taranto, oggi a New York, che con esemplari fittili distribuiti tra la media e la tarda età ellenistica.¹⁵ Lo stesso tipo di cesto, poi, di forma ovale e realizzato con un ordito di giunchi che prevede tre registri alternati e un grosso bordo intrecciato, ricorre anche sul frammento di decorazione parietale da Pompei conservato a Palermo, per il quale è parimenti utilizzato il colore giallo ocre. In quest'ultimo affresco, del I secolo d.C., ma copia fedele di una *tabella comica* ellenistica, è stata ravvisata eco di una scena dei *Menaechmi* di Plauto dove un cuoco viene inviato a fare spesa.¹⁶

IL CUOCO E ...L'ALTRO

Al *theràpon* Maison, il cuoco descritto da Polluce,¹⁷ è stata ricondotta da Margherita Bonanno Aravantinos anche una piccola testina sporadica (fig. 3)¹⁸ rinvenuta, come il gruppo, negli strati superficiali del settore sud della necropoli tebana. Sebbene sia conservata per poco più della metà, i



Fig. 3. Testa frammentaria, identificabile con il cuoco *Maison*, probabilmente parte del gruppo. Tebe, Museo Archeologico, s.n.i. (foto Autore).

tratti fisiognomici del personaggio risultano ben distinguibili: la massa di capelli, disposta a raggi-giera sulla nuca, lascia il capo superiormente calvo; la fronte, alta e segnata da rughe, contribuisce, con le grosse sopracciglia arcuate e gli occhi dalle pupille circolari lievemente aggettanti, a far sì che il volto restituisca una espressione corruciata, mentre l'aspetto petulante è rimarcato dalla bocca a pseudo-tromba e dalla corta barba arrotondata. Dal punto di vista stilistico l'ingrossamento delle sopracciglia, il sottile listello a rilievo utilizzato per le palpebre inferiori e superiori e per le labbra e l'iride incisa trovano riscontri con esemplari inquadrabili tra il III e la prima metà del II secolo a.C.¹⁹ La qualità dell'argilla, il colore e le irregolarità di cottura, nonché la decorazione e la peculiare morfologia - trattandosi non di una testina piena, ma di una maschera - hanno indotto a ritenere probabile l'integrazione di questo esemplare con il gruppo di attori comici qui discusso. Si



Fig. 4. Matrice in terracotta con scena comica, Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri, Columbia, inv. 80-195 (da Biers 1985, tav. 14, 1).



Fig. 5. Calco moderno dalla matrice dell'Università del Missouri (da Biers 1985, tav. 14, 2).

tratta di una ipotesi la cui validità sembrerebbe essere corroborata, ora, oltre che dal confronto con repliche singole,²⁰ da un altro gruppo inciso su una matrice in terracotta del Museo dell'Università del Missouri (figg. 4-5),²¹ che trae, forse, spunto dalla stessa vicenda. Anche su questa due personaggi, con costumi analoghi a quelli indossati dagli attori dell'esemplare di Tebe, litigano per il possesso di un cesto. William R. Biers, che l'ha analizzata, identifica nella maschera indossata dal personaggio di sinistra il cuoco Maison, mentre clamide e, soprattutto, copricapo (*pilos*) del personaggio di destra sembrano, a suo avviso, deporre a favore del fatto che si tratti di un viaggiatore o di un milite.²² Una serie di incisioni presenti sulla bocca protrusa dello schiavo-cuoco puntano, poi, a parere dello studioso, a fissare una cronologia del pezzo in epoca non anteriore al I secolo a.C.²³ Tale datazione risulterebbe confermata e precisata dal costume, in particolare dalla presenza dei tipici sandali (*soccus*) e dal tipo di calzamaglia indossata dai due attori il cui intreccio è definito 'a trapunta'. Si tratta, infatti, di una maniera di rendere il *μαλλोटὸς χιτῶν* (retaggio del vello animale dei drammi satireschi), per la quale si possono citare diversi esempi nella coroplastica di epoca romana²⁴ e che si distacca dalla resa meno stilizzata e più naturalistica che contraddistingue l'abbigliamento degli attori di Tebe e altri esemplari inquadrabili in età ellenistica.²⁵

SCHEMA COMPOSITIVO E POSA DA PALCOSCENICO

La stessa disposizione dei soggetti rappresentati induce a ricondurre l'esemplare tebano all'età ellenistica. Qui, infatti, il conflitto tra i due personaggi viene reso avvalendosi di una composizione piramidale in cui le gambe, sfalsate e poste su piani differenti, formano una larga base; l'intreccio delle figure culmina al centro della scena, nel cesto e, in particolare, nel manico trattenuto da entrambi i personaggi (che è allo stesso tempo l'epicentro della situazione sul quale converge l'interesse dell'osservatore), mentre il vertice - rintracciabile oggi in ciò che resta nella opposizione tra la spalla sinistra del 'cuoco' e quella destra dell'altro personaggio - doveva originariamente essere costituito dalla maschera del primo; è quest'ultimo, infatti, che, posto frontalmente rispetto allo spettatore e gesticolante, sembra avere la meglio nella contesa. Dal punto di vista formale una costruzione compositiva analoga, con diagonali convergenti al centro della scena, ricorre nel rilievo, anch'esso copia di un archetipo ellenistico, del Museo Maffei di Verona

(fig. 6), noto dalla metà del Settecento,²⁶ in cui, sebbene ambientazione e soggetto risultino differenti e la disposizione dei personaggi appaia speculare, lo schema utilizzato, espresso con la stessa rigida teatralità, ripropone la situazione-tipo del litigio tra due personaggi impersonati da attori. Il ricorso allo stesso piano sequenza (come si direbbe oggi in termini cinematografici!) consente ad entrambi gli artisti di modulare un segmento narrativo autonomo: tale scontro, mettendo in luce la differente indole delle maschere, consentirà all'intreccio di svolgersi e alla fine di dipanarsi. Lo stesso equilibrio tra le parti, pervade, del resto, la maggior parte delle raffigurazioni di gruppo note in età ellenistica (*tabellae comicae*, quadretti e le varie scene riflesse sulla ceramografia), dove due o più figure, siano esse impegnate in movimenti composti o esagitati, occupano lo spazio assecondando quasi sempre principi di simmetria.

È una corrispondenza che non si riscontra nella scena raffigurata sulla matrice del Missouri; qui la contesa è enfatizzata dalla stessa dicotomia di veduta tra la frontalità del personaggio che - complici anche le dimensioni lievemente più grandi - sembra avere la meglio sull'altro, e la rappresentazione di tre quarti di quest'ultimo, ma il ritmo, più vivace, spezza le linee di forza dei



Fig. 6. Rilievo con scena comica, Verona, Museo Maffei, inv. 28760 (foto Museo).

due protagonisti che non convergono più verso il centro della scena. Se la disposizione dei personaggi poteva essere apprezzata da un'acquirente con una sensibilità diversa da quella propria all'arte ellenistica, il dato accentua l'impressione che si tratti di un 'ritaglio', un *excerptum* da un archetipo di età ellenistica, una classe di terrecotte create cioè da modelli estrapolati da scene più complesse (non necessariamente nello stesso materiale), la cui esistenza John Richard Green ha convincentemente dimostrato partendo dall'accostamento tra la raffigurazione del noto rilievo di Napoli e quella, identica, incisa sulla gemma del Musée d'Art et d'Histoire di Ginevra.²⁷

Si giustificerebbe, in tal modo, anche la presenza di maschere e costumi identici alla terracotta da Tebe che, a notevole distanza di anni, ripropone il gruppo ritratto sulla matrice. La persistenza di alcuni elementi di derivazione ellenistica nelle composizioni più tarde è, del resto, un tratto comune nella documentazione relativa al teatro che Green, non senza sottolinearne gli esiti differenti a seconda dell'epoca, ha spiegato plausibilmente adducendo ragioni di gusto o di 'pretese culturali' del committente.²⁸

Lo stesso studioso, inoltre, sulla base della qualità e dell'accuratezza di dettaglio che mostra la maggior parte di queste repliche è del parere di individuarne l'origine in capolavori di pittura di età ellenistica, e non - come ritenuto in precedenza²⁹ - nelle illustrazioni di testi scritti che, oltre ad essere generalmente (almeno sulla base di quanto ci è giunto) piuttosto corsivi e grossolani, appaiono solo in età romana.

In realtà, nella comparazione tra la terracotta di Tebe e la matrice del Missouri, si stempera anche il dibattito, ancora oggi non sopito, sul rapporto tra l'iconografia e la messinscena di opere teatrali. L'assenza di particolari scenici (fatta eccezione per la 'posa') non sminuisce infatti la capacità dello schema iconografico prescelto dal coroplasta di evocare un preciso episodio, quello della lite tra due servi, o tra un cuoco e un servo. I due linguaggi artistici, quello letterario e quello visuale, si fanno ibrido unico nel raccontare la storia di un conflitto tra due personaggi: ...una storia 'quotidiana', che incarna appieno lo spirito e la modernità del teatro di genere che fu la Commedia Nuova e che riuscirà a fidelizzare anche gli spettatori romani.

Sebbene prodotti in epoca differente, l'accostamento tra il gruppo tebano e la scena riprodotta dalla matrice non può, infatti, non suscitare l'impressione che si tratti della stessa situazione comica; osservandoli in sequenza i due gruppi

sembrano suggerire momenti diversi della contesa della sporta: una sequela di fotogrammi dello stesso 'sketch', riproposto però con importanti differenze formali.

CIBO E VIS COMICA

La specificazione si rivela utile anche a precisare il soggetto e il suo eventuale sviluppo. La vicenda vede, infatti, due protagonisti nei quali è facilmente riconoscibile almeno uno schiavo, molto probabilmente un cuoco,³⁰ e un altro personaggio con mantello e copricapo. Più che un generico viandante l'osservazione di quest'ultimo e la presenza del *phormòs* (di un paniere, cioè e non di una sacca) che sembra essere introdotto nella scena proprio da questo personaggio, come suggerito dalla sua disposizione di profilo da destra verso sinistra in entrambe le raffigurazioni, richiamano alla mente la vita quotidiana del mercato o del porto, dove gli strati servili e piccolo borghesi della popolazione dovevano recarsi per rifornirsi di cibo e altri prodotti. In tale situazione stereotipa che reinvia alla *routine* giornaliera, l'intervento del cuoco e il tentativo di quest'ultimo di appropriarsi con la forza della sporta sembra, però, risolversi a suo favore, come la sua posizione e centralità in entrambi i *frames* dimostra inequivocabilmente. Ci si trova di fronte, insomma, ad una scena comica la cui efficacia deriva dal contrasto tra due personaggi; l'oggetto del contendere: un semplice paniere, che appetisce la brama di entrambi, tradisce il fatto che si tratta di personaggi provenienti dagli strati sociali più bassi della popolazione, mentre il costume e la maschera ne denotano almeno uno certamente come schiavo-cuoco; è quest'ultimo a possedere quell'intrigante scaltrezza che gli consentirà di appropriarsi dell'ambito oggetto, facendosi scherno dell'ottusa affidabilità dell'altro personaggio.

A questo punto, se va ribadito che qualsiasi proposta di identificazione puntuale dei personaggi e l'eventuale riscontro con una commedia precisa è destinata, allo stato attuale della ricerca, a rimanere pura illazione, ciononostante, non è senza interesse sottolineare che il motivo ripreso nel gruppo tebano e nella matrice dell'Università del Missouri, sembra riproporre la matrice dualistica comune nella commedia nuova e resa popolare da Menandro.³¹

Il rapporto tra il servo e il cibo, l'avidità ossessiva per lo stesso e il litigio tra servi sono topoi o elementi ricorrenti dei personaggi della *véa* (almeno a giudicare dalle commedie note) e che saranno ripresi anche nella commedia latina. La

scarsa conoscenza delle opere greche ci priva della possibilità di risalire con certezza dall'adattamento all'originale. Rispetto al servo di Plauto - in cui sono molteplici, com'è noto, gli spunti derivati dall'opera del commediografo attico - è stato, tuttavia, fatto notare come il servo di Menandro incarni la fedeltà verso il padrone e sia parte della famiglia; la sua onestà e nobiltà sono messe in rilievo dal dialogo con il cuoco, figura di volgare millantatore a cui viene attribuito il doppio tratto dello scherno brillante e della comicità più grossolana, imposta dalla necessità di attirare il consenso del pubblico meno smaliziato e venire incontro ai gusti degli spettatori meno raffinati e colti.³² Del gruppo di Tebe e del suo 'lontano parente' colpisce, allora, la netta corrispondenza tra carattere, costume e psicologia del personaggio, la straordinaria vitalità del linguaggio utilizzato, la capacità di alludere ad una circostanza precisa della storia narrata. Pur cogliendo il riflesso dell'essenza 'menandrea', rimane però difficile stabilire se si tratti, o meno, di una commedia di Menandro.

CONCLUSIONI

A chi guardi il teatro nella prospettiva di secoli, appare ben chiaro come alcuni meccanismi (vicendevolezza e mobilità di personaggi con la stessa funzione, tipizzazione delle maschere, espedienti comici e faceti, riflessi sociologici e riscontri politici) rimangano immutati dall'antichità ad oggi. E pure, a dispetto delle numerose opere d'arte pervenute che forniscono riprova dell'importanza del ruolo del teatro nella società antica, fa spesso riscontro, in ragione della esiguità dei testi letterari, l'incapacità di comprendere appieno il riferimento in esse contenuto ad un'opera precisa. La semplice analisi iconografica, del resto, si rivela assai limitata e tanto più nel caso della singola maschera o del singolo personaggio. Il gruppo, infatti, a differenza delle raffigurazioni individuali, propone uno schema dialogico nel quale ogni personaggio, sembra muoversi all'interno di un canovaccio o di una situazione tipica e che risulta decodificabile, talvolta, dalla comparazione con testimonianze analoghe e più o meno coeve. Proprio l'accentuarsi della tipizzazione delle maschere, introdotta nella Commedia Nuova, o mantenute più o meno inalterate attraverso i secoli rendono fiduciosi nell'operare tentativi quali quello attuato in questa sede, di risalire al complicato intreccio di vicende riflesse nel teatro, vicende che traggono linfa dal tessuto sociale coevo e che vengono tradotte nel palcoscenico dall'abile commediografo.

NOTE

- * Per i permessi di pubblicazione delle foto esprimo sinceri ringraziamenti al prof. V. Aravantinos, Eforo emerito alle antichità e direttore dello scavo della necropoli nord-orientale di Tebe, e alla dott.ssa Margherita Bolla curatrice dei Musei Archeologico e Maffeiano di Verona. Per i preziosi suggerimenti ricevuti sono grata alla prof.ssa Margherita Bonanno e al prof. J.R. Green.
- ¹ Bonanno Aravantinos/Pisani 2009, 412-414, figg. 12-13.
 - ² Aravantinos 2000, 2001-2004, 2006, 2013; Pisani 2012, 367-370.
 - ³ Tutta la necropoli nord-orientale di Tebe registra solo qualche sporadica presenza di sepolture inquadrabili tra il I sec. a.C. e il I sec. d.C. (Aravantinos 2013 e bibliografia precedente; per il settore Tzalla: Kountouri 1999, 2008, 665-682).
 - ⁴ Alt. 16, 7 cm; largh. 14, 75 cm; spess. 4, 8 cm.
 - ⁵ Si tratta di un importante indizio per attribuire il prodotto alle officine coroplastiche di Tebe che firmano così tecnicamente i loro articoli dal V sec. a.C. per tutta l'età ellenistica avanzata. Sulla produzione coroplastica teatrale beotica vd. da ultimo: Green 2014, 338-344.
 - ⁶ Hughes 2006, 54.
 - ⁷ Hughes 2006, 54-56.
 - ⁸ Tedeschi 2007, 74.
 - ⁹ Trad. it. in Tedeschi 2007, 58: 'Orsù, dapprima voglio fare agli spettatori questo discorso, dopo aver premesso alcune cosette. Da noi non si aspettino nulla di straordinario, neppure battute rubate sottobanco a Megara. Non mettiamo in scena i soliti due servi, che da una cesta lanciano noci al pubblico, né il solito Eracle, defraudato del pranzo, e nemmeno Euripide, che viene preso in giro per l'ennesima volta'.
 - ¹⁰ Bonanno Aravantinos/Pisani 2009, 409, fig. 7.
 - ¹¹ *Collection Julien Gréau* 1891, 59-60, n. 266, tav. VIII (da Tanagra); Winter 1903, tav. 415, 3 e 419, 9; Robert 1911, 12, fig. 24; Laumonier 1956, tav. 92, n. 1220; Bieber 1961, 40-41, figg. 155-156 e 101, fig. 382; Rhode 1968, 48, n. 34; Schmaltz 1974, 118, tav. 26, n. 325; Green/Seeberg/Webster 1995, 2BT 5B; Mollard Besques 1986, 74, tav. 66, b; Todisco 1990, 116, fig. 155 = Graepler 1997, fig. 275.
 - ¹² Wilkins 2000, 156.
 - ¹³ Bieber 1961, 40, fig. 143; Trendall/Webster 1971, 126-127, IV, 9, fig. 22.
 - ¹⁴ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Arts, 24.97.104 (400-390 a.C. ca.); Trendall/Webster 1971, 130, IV, 13.
 - ¹⁵ Si veda in proposito il paniere retto da alcune statuette fittili da Alessandria (Török 1995, 155-156, n. 238, tavv. XV e CXXVI) e di Myrina (Mollard Besques 1963, 143, tav. 175, b, MYR 330, e).
 - ¹⁶ Simon 1938, 9-11, n. 6, 147-149, tav. I; Pickard Cambridge 1953, 201-202, fig. 96; Bieber 1961, 101, fig. 383.
 - ¹⁷ Green/Seeberg/Webster 1995, 30-33, Mask 25.
 - ¹⁸ Alt. 3, 75 cm; largh. 2, 3 cm; spess. 3, 15 cm. Bonanno Aravantinos/Pisani 2009, 413-414, fig. 14.
 - ¹⁹ Per testine simili associate a statuette di attori che portano la sporta delle vettovaglie cfr.: Winter 1903, tav. 415, 3 e tav. 419, 9; Robert 1911, 12, fig. 24; Bieber 1920, 133, tav. 70, 3 e 72, 1-3, nn. 84-87; Laumonier 1956, tav. 92, n. 1220; Webster 1960, At 12, d (maschera K); Bieber 1961, 40-41, figg. 143, 155-156 e 101, fig. 382; Rhode 1968, 48, n. 34; Schmaltz 1974, 118, tav. 26, n. 325; Mollard Besques 1986, 74, tav. 66, b; Green/Seeberg/Webster 1995, 2BT 5b (l'archetipo di questa maschera si

rintraccia in opere del periodo che vede il passaggio tra la tarda Commedia di Mezzo e i primi esordi della Commedia Nuova ed è stato perciò definito da J. R. Green 'transizionale': Green 2003, 120; Graepler 1997, 231, fig. 275. Per testine con tratti fisionomici analoghi pertinenti ad altre maschere: Acheilara 2005-2006, 394, n. 537.

- ²⁰ Bieber 1961, 40, fig. 143 (= Winter 1903, tav. 415, 3; Green/Seeberg/Webster 1995, 2BT 5a) e 41, fig. 156; Green/Seeberg/Webster 1995, 2BT 5b.
- ²¹ Inv. 80-195, 7,5 x 7,8 cm. Biers 1985, 40-44; Green/Seeberg/Webster 1995, 5 XA 1 (1-2).
- ²² In assenza di attributi ben riconoscibili e di un inquadramento che ne favorisca la lettura, è difficile risalire all'identificazione del personaggio esclusivamente dall'abbigliamento o da accessori di questo. Alcuni studiosi hanno voluto, ad esempio, vedere un soldato in due figure con *pilos*, parte di scene tratte da commedie di Menandro, e raffigurati rispettivamente sul lacerto di pavimento a mosaico dalla Casa di Dionysos a Chania del III sec. d.C. e su un papiro (*P.Oxy.* 2653) più o meno coevo (Gutzwiller/Çelik 2012, 579, figg. 7 e 9, e bibliografia precedente; *contra* questa identificazione Green/Seeberg/Webster 1995, 6EP 1). Nell'ambito della coroplastica, del resto, il *pilos* o cappuccio a punta si ritrova anche su personaggi che indossano l'*exomis* e sembrerebbero, pertanto, identificabili con schiavi, quale ad esempio la terracotta da Myrina con paniere precedentemente richiamata (Mollard Besques 1963, 143, tav. 175, b, MYR 330, e). Sul *pilos* e sulla variante rustica dello stesso indossata da contadini vd. Pipili 2000, 164; Hughes 2006, 61.
- ²³ Si confronti, ad esempio Burn/Higgins 2001, 146, tav. 68, n. 2380.
- ²⁴ Bieber 1961, 161, figg. 581-582.
- ²⁵ Il vestito del papposileno del Ceramico di Atene n. 243, datato da B. Vierendeel Schlörb alla fine del V sec. a.C. (Vierendeel Schlörb 1997, 79, n. 243, tav. 48, 6), è reso con impressioni simili a quelle del nostro esemplare ma meno naturalistiche. Un vero e proprio manto villosa reso plasticamente caratterizza, invece, il n. 244, attico, come il precedente, e datato, sulla base di un esemplare simile rinvenuto nell'Agora di Atene, tra il IV e il III sec. a.C. (Vierendeel Schlörb 1997, 80, n. 244, tav. 49, 1). Segni, incisioni e punti creati da artigiani e artisti dell'argilla perlopiù sullo stampo e, più raramente, direttamente a stecca sul positivo sembrano, infatti, distribuirsi in un ampio arco cronologico restituendo l'impressione di una resa differenziata del costume dell'attore, dipendente in parte anche dal gusto e della perizia tecnica del singolo artigiano, e complicando, per questa ragione, la possibilità di affidarsi ad un simile tratto per assegnare una cronologia puntuale. Punti regolari e niente affatto naturalistici contraddistinguono, ad esempio, la figura di attore comico che impersona uno schiavo seduto sulla matrice dell'Agora di Atene T 2059 (Webster 1960, 280, B 13, tav. 67), un'altra, parimenti attica, del gruppo di New York (Trendall/Webster 1971, 126-127, IV, 9, fig. 20) e la bella statuetta di attore comico avvolto nel suo *himation* e ritratto in atteggiamento pensoso degli inizi del IV sec. a.C., probabilmente dall'Attica, oggi al Museo del Louvre (Jeammet 2010, 130, n. 77); linee incise e ondulate vengono utilizzate sia in esemplari di sileni, papposileni e attori degli inizi (Goldman/Jones 1942, tav. XXIII, n. V-I; Higgins 1954, 197-198, tav. 97, n. 736; Peredol'skaja 1962, 75, figg. 29-30 e 81, figg. 40-41.) che

- della media o tarda età ellenistica (Burn/Higgins 2001, 112, tav. 47, n. 2266; Mollard Besques 1963, 80, tav. 97, e, MYR 645, 141, tav. 172, b, MYR 319, 142, tav. 172, e, MYR 319); allo stesso ancoraggio cronologico sembrerebbe condurre anche la presenza di costumi caratterizzati da oggetto e plasticità più marcati (Mollard Besques 1963, 142, tav. 172, c, MYR 670), che gode di particolare favore anche negli esemplari in marmo di epoca romana.
- ²⁶ Verona, Museo Maffeiano, inv. 28760 (Maffei 1749, tav. CXXVI,6; Dütschke 1880, 203, n. 462; Schreiber 1888, 96, n. 66; Schreiber 1894, tav. LXXXV; Arndt/Amelung 1920, n. 3; Bieber 1961, 162, fig. 586).
- ²⁷ Green 1985.
- ²⁸ Green 1985, 468-469.
- ²⁹ Charitonidis/Kahil/Ginouvs 1970, 102-104.
- ³⁰ Invero, alcuni tratti fisionomici lo avvicinano ad un'altra maschera descritta da Polluce, quella del *kato trichias* (lo schiavo dalle chiome basse). Per il problema si veda Green/Seeberg/Webster 1995, 29; Bernabò Brea 2001, 228-229.
- ³¹ Della vasta produzione menandrea solo poche commedie sono giunte a noi intere o quasi. Alcuni degli schemi espositivi e dei soggetti comici utilizzati dal commediografo, risalgono ad epoca precedente o vengono utilizzati da altri autori della Commedia Nuova. L'apporto di questi ultimi, tuttavia, può essere ricostruito, spesso, solo in termini di differenziazioni istituibili con soggetti specificamente menandrei (sul tema si veda da ultimo Green 2015. Ringrazio il prof. Green per i proficui suggerimenti ricevuti). Non si esclude inoltre la possibilità di una ricostruzione di quello che furono molte commedie di Menandro attraverso i confronti con la produzione più tarda di Plauto e di Terenzio, che spesso lo presero a modello, pur adattando maschere e personaggi al gusto dell'epoca (sulla fortuna di Menandro si veda da ultimo Martina 2016, I, 252-282).
- ³² Sull'argomento si rinvia a Giannini 1960; Dohm 1964; Berthiaume 1982; Nesselrath 1990; Krieter Spiro 1997. Per la differenza tra cuoco e *mageiros* e per la crescente popolarità di quest'ultimo nella commedia nuova si veda Arnott 1972, 77-78; Green 2003, 120-124; Soler Garcia 2008. Sullo statuto di uomo libero del *mageiros* nella tradizione letteraria antica: Casson 1976, 36-37, nota 22.
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Zum Sarkophag des Larth Velcha in Tarquinia und dem Export karthagischer Marmorsarkophage nach Etrurien

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Abstract

*A re-evaluation of the sarcophagus fragments in S. Maria in Castello in Tarquinia, first published by M. Morandi, along with the addition of some new fragments allows the reconstruction of two marble sarcophagi. Morandi's assignment to the burial of Larth Velcha in the local Tomba degli Scudi is still valid for one of them. Its new reconstruction resembles three pieces from San Giuliano, Carthage and Larnaca, which can be recognised as belonging to a bigger group of marble sarcophagi of the second half of the 4th century BC due to their form and painted decoration. This group comprises sarcophagi with lids featuring 'standing' figures and simpler ones with lids shaped as gabled roofs. The distribution area as well as the conception and iconographical details of the figured lids show that Carthage is the most likely production centre of the whole group. Four marble sarcophagi and two local imitations attest to the import to southern Etruria, probably by traders from Tarquinia. They can be seen in the context of a revival of Carthaginian-Etruscan trade in this period.**

Vor bereits gut zwei Jahrzehnten stellte Massimo Morandi verschiedene in der Kirche S. Maria in Castello in Tarquinia als Treppenstufen verbauten Marmorblöcke zusammen, aus denen er schließlich drei antike Sarkophage rekonstruierte.¹ Zumindest zwei davon seien dem in Etrurien geläufigen 'Holztruhentypus' zuzuordnen; als grundsätzlichen Beleg für die Verwendung marmorner Sarkophage in Tarquinia führte Morandi den 'Priestersarkophag' des Laris Partunus sowie den bemalten Amazonensarkophag in Florenz an.² Nachdem Morandi sein Fragment **a** mit der etruskischen Inschrift *larθ : velχas : θui : cesu* einem der Sarkophagdeckel zuwies und diese Inschrift überzeugend der lokalen Tomba degli Scudi zuordnete, konnte er einen seiner Sarkophage sogar rekontextualisieren.³ Es ist zweifellos Morandis Verdienst, diesen Zusammenhang hergestellt und auf die verbauten Blöcke aufmerksam gemacht zu haben. Eine nähere Einordnung der in ihrer Formgebung seltenen und ihrem Material ungewöhnlichen Särge, welche die Frage nach ihrem Ursprungsort aufwirft, ist dagegen bislang nicht erfolgt.

Bevor sich der vorliegende Beitrag diesen Fragen widmet, soll Morandis Rekonstruktion überprüft werden. Zum besseren Verständnis seien hier zunächst erneut die Blöcke seiner Rekonstruktion aufgeführt:⁴

Fragment **a** 206 × 19 × 7 cm

Fragment **b** 206 × 19 × 7 cm

Fragment **c** 200 × 32 × 7 cm (Abb. 1)

Fragment **d** 86 × 28 × 8,5 cm

Fragment **e** 84 × 28 × 8,5 cm

Fragment **f** 200 × 29 × 16 cm

Fragment **g** 104,5 × 26 × 10 cm

Fragment **h** 115,5 × 26,5 × 10 cm

Fragment **i** 94 × 27 × 17,5 cm (Abb. 2)

Fragment **l** 64,5 × 26 × 6,5 cm (Abb. 2)

Fragment **m** 112 × 30,5 × 17 cm

Fragment **n** 121 × 32 × 9 cm

Fragment **o** 172 × 21 × 9 cm

Fragment **p** 33,5 × 22 × 7 cm

Alle Fragmente sind an ihrer heutigen Oberseite durch die lange Nutzung als Treppenstufen abgerieben und scheinen unterschiedlich sorgfältig für ihre Einpassung in die Kirchenstufen zersägt worden zu sein.⁵ In den Fragmenten **a** und **b** lassen sich aufgrund der übereinstimmenden Maße mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit zwei Teile eines 206 cm langen beschrifteten Gegenstandes fassen, auf den noch zurückzukommen sein wird. Fragment **c** ist eindeutig die Langseite eines 200 cm langen Sarkophagkastens, die mit ihrer ursprünglichen Außenseite nach oben verbaut worden ist, wie die noch vorhandenen jeweils 10 cm langen Ansätze der Schmalseitenwände zeigen. Auf seiner Außenseite weist das Fragment ein geringfügig vertieftes Feld von 163,5 × 4 cm Größe auf. Eine ca 1 cm schmale Umrahmung dieser Fläche ist abgearbeitet worden oder abgerieben, lässt sich

aber zweifelsfrei noch ausmachen (Abb. 1). Oberhalb der seitlichen Abschlüsse dieses Rechteckfeldes ist anhand der Abarbeitungsspuren außerdem jeweils eine plastisch aufgesetzte Scheibe von 6,5 cm Durchmesser zu erkennen (Abb. 1). Am oberen Rand dürfte sich eine Profilleiste befunden haben, die entfernt worden ist. Dieser Bereich ist durch eine Reihe weitgehend auf einer Ebene liegender, tieferer Kerben, die das untere Ende der abgearbeiteten Profilleiste anzeigen (Abb. 1), begrenzt, was eine Profilhöhe von ca 6 cm ergibt.⁶ Der auf dem inneren Rand der Kastenoberseite abgearbeitete Falz lässt sich nur mehr teilweise erahnen.⁷ Ein erster Blick auf den gut vergleichbaren Marmorsarkophag aus dem Grab der Than-

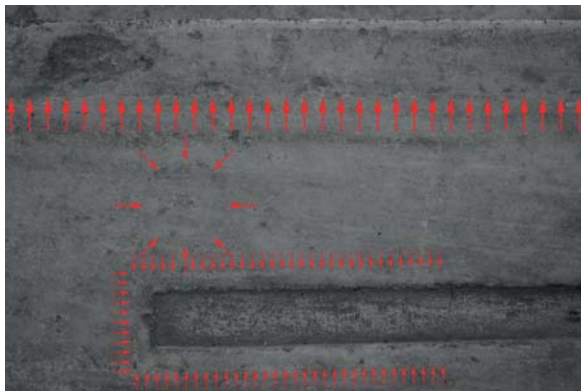


Abb. 1. Ausschnitt des Fragments c mit Angabe der abgearbeiteten Profilleiste, der abgearbeiteten Rundscheibe und der abgearbeiteten Umrandung des Rechteckfeldes (Photographie Autor).

sina in San Giuliano, heute in Heidelberg,⁸ der all diese Details aufweist, macht die ursprüngliche Gestaltung des Sarkophags unmittelbar anschaulich (Abb. 6). Block c zeigt mit seinen zahlreichen Abarbeitungen bereits, wie viel Aufwand bei der Anpassung der Fragmente für die Kirchenstufen betrieben worden ist, was auch an den sauberen Schnitten an manchen Fragmenten deutlich wird.

Die einander gut vergleichbaren Blöcke f und i sind ebenfalls eindeutig Teile von Sarkophagen (Abb. 2). Während Fragment f die volle Länge von 200 cm aufweist, ist Block i allerdings nach 94 cm gebrochen - wohl um die Lücke zu füllen, die bis zum rechts anschließenden Kirchenpfeiler verblieben war. Beide Blöcke sind an ihrer Oberseite weniger glatt als Fragment c und weisen an ihrer Vorderseite je ein leicht vertieftes Rechteckfeld auf. In jenem des Blocks i sind noch Teile der roten Farbfüllung erkennbar (Abb. 2). Morandi hatte die Fragmente bereits als zwei Teile der Bodenplatte eines Sarkophags identifiziert, bei dem über der abgearbeiteten Profilleiste ein Feld eingetieft und bemalt war, das die links und rechts stehengebliebenen 'Füße' hervorheben sollte.⁹ Die ursprüngliche Existenz der Profilleiste ist nicht nur an der tiefen Ritzlinie ersichtlich, ihre Abarbeitung lässt sich auch an den groben Meißelhieben erkennen, die sich von der daran anschließenden Oberfläche deutlich abheben (Abb. 2). Die in der gegenwärtigen Lage unten liegenden Kanten beider Blöcke sind unregelmäßig gebrochen. Hier müssen sich ursprünglich die Kastenwände fortgesetzt haben, während die aktuelle Oberseite die Standfläche des Sarko-



Abb. 2. Fragmente i (oben) und l (unten), jeweils mit der antiken Unterseite nach oben verbaut (Photographie Autor).



Abb. 3. Fragment *q*
(Photographie Autor).



Abb. 4. Fragment *r*
(Photographie Autor).



Abb. 5. Fragment *s* (auf der antiken Oberseite
liegend) (Photographie Autor).

phags bildete - was auch ihre weniger sorgfältige Glättung erklärt. Erneut kann ein Blick auf den Sarkophag in Heidelberg die ursprüngliche Position und das Erscheinungsbild der Blöcke *f* und *i* verdeutlichen (Abb. 6). Naheliegend ist aufgrund der Übereinstimmungen, dass es sich um zwei Teile des selben Sarkophags gehandelt hat, dessen Boden etwa mittig längs auseinander geschnitten wurde. So ergäbe sich eine Kastenbreite von ca 56 cm in der Frieszone.

Morandi wies die Fragmente *f* und *i* einem anderen Sarkophag als *c* zu, da er einen Unterschied im Material bemerkt haben wollte, das nur bei Fragment *c* zu einer rötlichen Verfärbung tendiere.¹⁰ Diese Tendenz, die besonders bei pentelischem Marmor häufig zu beobachten ist,¹¹ lässt sich zwar tatsächlich bei Fragment *c* großflächiger als bei den Blöcken *f* und *i*, letztlich aber an allen Stücken partiell erkennen.¹² Für eine Zusammengehörigkeit der Fragmente *c* und *f* sprechen einerseits die übereinstimmenden Längenmaße, andererseits die Tatsache, dass alle drei Blöcke exakte formale Übereinstimmungen im Vergleichsstück aus San Giuliano finden (Abb. 6). Dass dieses bislang wiederum nur zwei sehr enge Parallelen im ganzen Mittelmeerraum aufweist,¹³ macht eine Verbauung von Fragmenten gleich zweier solcher Sarkophage in einer Kirche in Tarquinia unwahrscheinlich. Noch weniger plausibel erscheint diese These, wenn man bedenkt, dass sich die vier eng miteinander verwandten Sarkophage in ihren Maßen im Detail merklich voneinander unterscheiden, die beiden von Morandi rekonstruierten Stücke aber exakt maßgleich wären. Die Tatsache, dass eine direkte Zusammenfügung der Fragmente *c* und *f* eine vollständige Langseite eines Sarkophags ergäbe, der den genannten Vergleichsstücken in seinen Proportionen sehr nahe kommt, dürfte schließlich die Zusammengehörigkeit der Fragmente (Abb. 7) belegen. Tatsächlich konnten in S. Maria in Castello noch weitere Blöcke ausfindig gemacht werden, die diesem Sarkophag zuzuweisen sind und weitere Details der Rekonstruktion klären können:

Fragment *q* 70 × 19,5 × 6 cm (Abb. 3)
Fragment *s* 55 × 30 × 10,5 cm (Abb. 5)
Fragment *r* 51 × 25 × 9 cm (Abb. 4)

All diese Fragmente sind nicht mehr verbaut, sondern mit anderem Material, darunter Morandis Block *p*, im rechten Seitenschiff nahe der Nordwand deponiert. Sie mögen, wie einige Mörtelreste zeigen, ursprünglich andernorts in der Kirche vermauert gewesen und bei Restaurie-



Abb. 6. Sarkophag aus dem Grab der Thansina in San Giuliano, Antikenmuseum der Universität Heidelberg, Inv. 27/11 (Photographie H. Vögele).

rungen entfernt worden sein. Bei dem unregelmäßig gebrochenen Block **q** handelt es sich um ein Kastenfragment mit Teilen des bei Block **c** vollständig erhaltenen Rechteckfeldes: hier ist die Umrahmung des Feldes in Form eines groben, ca 1 cm breiten Rundstabs noch vorhanden (Abb. 3). Dass es sich dabei um ein Lang- und nicht ein Schmalseitenfragment handelt, zeigen die Länge des Blocks und die mit der zweiten Langseite annähernd übereinstimmende Wandstärke.¹⁴ Von großer Relevanz sind auch die Blöcke **r** und **s**, die jeweils noch Reste eines Profils aufweisen. Fragment **r** ist Teil einer Bodenplatte eines Sarkophags mit einer aus abgeschrägter Fußplatte, Basisplatte und Kymation bestehenden Profilierung (Abb. 4). Das Sarkophaginnere ist roh belassen, die Unterseite (den Fragmenten **f** und **i** vergleichbar) grob geglättet und der Ansatz der etwa 6 cm starken Wand ausgebrochen. Auf dem Kymation sind noch wenige Reste der roten Hintergrundfarbe eines lesbischen Blattstabs vorhanden. Block **s** ist formal eng vergleichbar (Abb. 5): Es handelt sich mutmaßlich um ein Eckfragment desselben Sarkophagbodens, das an beiden Außenseiten die auch in ihren Maßen übereinstimmende Profilierung aufweist und an seiner Unterseite ebenfalls grob geglättet war. Bemalungsreste sind auf den freiliegenden Kymationabschnitten nicht mehr erkennbar. Auch hier sind die oben anschließenden Kastenwände grob ausgebrochen. Eine Verbindung von **r** und **s** mit **c**, **f** und **i** ist aus mehreren Gründen anzunehmen:

- Eine Verbindung von **i**, **r** und **s** ergibt eine mit Fragment **f** übereinstimmende Gesamtlänge von 200 cm.
- Die Höhe von 8 cm bei beiden Profilen stimmt mit den Abarbeitungen an **f** und **i** überein.
- Ein Abzug der am oberen Profil nicht anzunehmenden abgeschrägten Fußplatte ergibt abermals die anhand der Abarbeitungsspuren an **c** postulierte Höhe von 6 cm.
- Die Breite von **s** entspricht annähernd der seines unregelmäßiger ausgebrochenen Teilstücks **i**.
- Die Profilform und sogar deren Bemalung stimmt erneut mit jener des bereits genannten Vergleichsstücks in Heidelberg (Abb. 6) überein.

Damit ist eine Rekonstruktion des Sarkophagkastens in allen Details möglich, mit Ausnahme der Form des Falzes und des Schmucks der Schmalseiten oberhalb der Sockelprofilierung, die allerdings analog zu den Vergleichsstücken erschlossen werden können (Abb. 7). Es fehlen nur kleinere Fragmente beider Schmalseiten und einer Langseite.¹⁵ Der aus den einzelnen Platten rekonstruierbare Sarkophagkasten maß demnach in der Frieszone 200 × ca 58 cm bzw. auf Höhe der Profile ca 203 × ca 61 cm und war ohne Falz und Deckel etwa 51 cm hoch. Das macht wiederum eine Zugehörigkeit der Fragmente **a** und **b** wahrscheinlich, die 206 cm lang sind - auch der Heidelberger Deckel ist nur wenige Zentimeter länger als

sein Kasten. Naheliegender ist demnach Morandis Interpretation als zwei Teile eines Sarkophagdeckels, der aufgrund des Längenmaßes und des Materials unserem Sarkophag zuzuweisen ist.¹⁶ Neben dem Text der Inschrift vermögen die in Tarquinia mehrfach belegten Beschriftungen auf Giebelschrägen von Sarkophagdeckeln¹⁷ diese Zuweisung ebenso zu stützen wie chronologische Überlegungen: So datiert die Sarkophaggruppe, der unser Stück zugehörig ist und die im Folgenden noch näher beschrieben und bestimmt werden soll, in die 2. Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.¹⁸ Das passt gut zu Morandis Kontextualisierung der Inschrift auf Fragment **a**, die sich auf den wohl um 330 v.Chr. in der Tomba degli Scudi bestatteten Larth Velcha zu beziehen scheint.¹⁹ Der Deckel des tarquinischen Stücks kann anhand der drei genannten, im Wesentlichen übereinstimmenden Vergleichsstücke mit leicht vertieften Giebelfeldern, Mittel- und Eckakroteren sowie fünf Antefixen je Langseite rekonstruiert werden (Abb. 7). Eine Übertragung der Proportionen des Heidel-

berger Stücks ergäbe eine Gesamthöhe des Sarkophags (mit Deckel) von ca 72,5 cm.

Einem zweiten marmornen Sarkophag dürften drei weitere neue Blöcke angehören:

Fragment **t** 182 × 35 × 6 cm (Abb. 8)

Fragment **v** 29 × 35 × 6 cm (Abb. 8)

Fragment **u** 144 × 35 × 6 cm (Abb. 8, 9)

Die Fragmente sind nebeneinander im Sockel der Kanzel verbaut und verfügen am unteren Ende über ein Kymation von etwa 3,5 cm Höhe, das auf einer Sockelleiste von ca 4 cm Höhe aufsitzt; an Fragment **u** sind teilweise noch Reste der Bemalung des Kymations mit einem Eierstab erkennbar (Abb. 9). Die Frieszone des Stücks scheint undekoriert geblieben zu sein; die Form und Bemalung der Profilleisten erinnert aber erneut an das Stück aus San Giuliano (Abb. 6), dessen oberes Kymation vergleichbar mit einem Eierstab geschmückt ist. Diesem scheint auch das Material, ein weißer, vielfach von groben grauen



Abb. 8. Fragmente **t**, **u** und **v** (Photographie Autor).



Abb. 9. Ausschnitt von Fragment **u** mit Resten eines aufgemalten Eierstabs (Photographie Autor).



Abb. 10. 'Holztruhentypus'-Sarkophag aus Karthago, Musée de Carthage (Photographie I. Hitzl).



Abb. 11. 'Holztruhentypus'-Sarkophag aus Larnaka, Larnaka, Lazaruskirche (Photographie D. Croner).

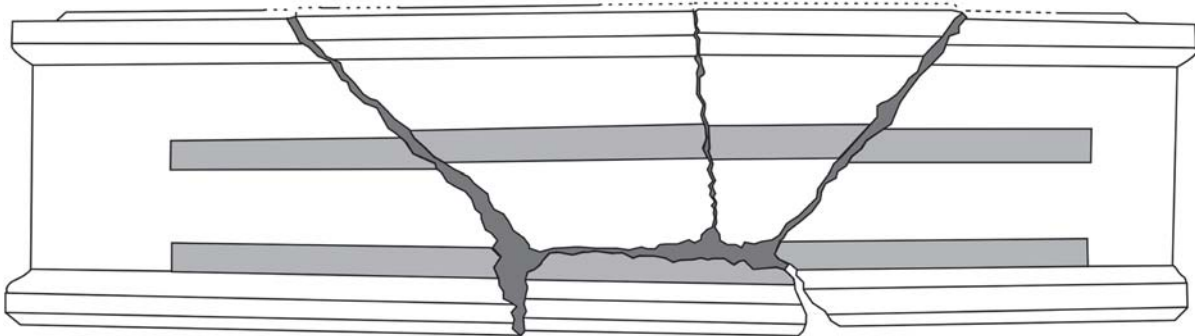


Abb. 12. 'Holztruhentypus'-Sarkophag in Tarquinia, Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Hof (Zeichnung Autor).

Adern durchzogener Marmor (*Abb. 8, 9*), zu entsprechen.²⁰ Vergleiche für derartig profilierte Sarkophage mit undekorierten Frieszonen finden sich in der im Folgenden besprochenen Gruppe, der das Stück demnach ebenfalls angehören dürfte.²¹ Naheliegend ist, dass Fragment *t* die (obere?) Hälfte einer Kastenlangseite bildet, von der die Schmalseiten abgetrennt wurden; die Kastenlänge mag angesichts der noch nachvollziehbaren Wandstärke von ca 5,5 cm in der Frieszone demnach etwa 193 cm betragen haben. Das bedeutet, dass die Deckelfragmente *a* und *b* nicht diesem zweiten, etwas kleineren Sarkophag zugehörig gewesen sein dürften. Das Stück könnte dennoch aus dem selben Grab stammen - wenngleich das ohne Inschrift nicht beweisbar ist.

Die weiteren von Morandi zusammengetragenen Fragmente lassen sich mit Ausnahme der wohl aus Kalkstein bestehenden Schmalseite *l* (*Abb. 2*) dagegen nicht eindeutig Sarkophagen zurechnen.²² Aufgrund ihres uncharakteristischen Erscheinungsbildes sollte auf eine Zuweisung verzichtet werden; sie mögen verschiedenen antiken Denkmälern unbekannter Form angehört haben. Die Spolierungen eines kaiserzeitlichen Bügelkymations in der Kanzel, zweier Architravblöcke in den Türstürzen und verschiedener römischer und frühchristlicher Grabinschriften im Boden der Kirche sowie diverser anderer antiker Denkmäler, darunter römischer Sarkophage, in anderen Kirchen der Stadt zeigen die vielen Möglichkeiten einer Zuordnung.

Nachdem also eine Rekonstruktion des mit Larth Velcha verbundenen Sarkophags möglich geworden ist (*Abb. 7*), soll nun seine Form analysiert und auf diesem Wege seine Provenienz erschlossen werden. Es wurde bereits darauf hingewiesen, dass die engsten Parallelen aus San Giuliano (*Abb. 6*), Karthago (*Abb. 10*) und Larnaka (*Abb. 11*) stammen.²³ Die Maße der Sarkophage sind nur grob vergleichbar.²⁴ Enge formale Entsprechungen finden sich allerdings in den aus abgeschrägter Fußplatte, Bodenplatte und Kymation bzw. Kymation und Deckplatte bestehenden Profilierungen, genauso wie in der Anlage der vertieften unteren und oberen Rechteckfelder und der rundstabartigen Umrandung der letzteren. Auch die Platzierung der Scheiben stimmt überein.²⁵ Genauso vergleichbar ist die Gestaltung des Deckels mit einer nach unten abschließenden Leiste, flach abgeschrägt profilierten, vertieften Giebfeldern, länglich-schmalen Mittel- und kleinen Eckakroten und fünf Antefixen je Langseite. Zuletzt entsprechen sich auch die noch erhaltenen Farbreste

vollständig: So ist die rote Bemalung des unteren Feldes noch bei den Sarkophagen in Tarquinia, Heidelberg und Karthago vorhanden, die Bemalung des oberen Rechteckfeldes mit einem rot-blauen Büsten-Ranken-Ornament noch bei den Stücken in Heidelberg und Karthago, die Bemalung der unteren Profilleisten mit einem lesbischen Kymation auf rotem Grund mit blauen Herzblättern bei den Särgen in Tarquinia, Heidelberg und Karthago und die Bemalung der oberen Leisten mit einem rot-blauen Eierstab bei den Sarkophagen in Heidelberg und Karthago. Für das Fehlen von Farbresten auf dem Stück in Larnaka mag seine lange Sekundärverwendung verantwortlich sein.²⁶ Insgesamt ist aufgrund all dieser Übereinstimmungen ein enger Zusammenhang und gemeinsamer Ursprungsort der Stücke sehr wahrscheinlich. Am besten lässt sich ein deckelloser Nenfrosarkophag im Hof des Nationalmuseums von Tarquinia anschließen (*Abb. 12*), der keine Bemalungsreste, aber mit Ausnahme der Scheiben alle anderen Merkmale der besprochenen Kästen aufweist. Dabei dürfte es sich allerdings, wie bereits das Material bezeugt, um eine lokale Nachahmung des marmornen Sarkophagtypus handeln. Um die Frage des Ursprungsorts der Gruppe zu klären, muss die Untersuchung im Folgenden auf weitere vergleichbare Stücke ausgreifen.

Während das Stück aus Larnaka dort - bzw. auf Zypern allgemein - eine Ausnahme darstellt, lässt sich der Sarkophag in Karthago als Teil einer größeren Gruppe marmorner Sarkophage fassen. Alle Exemplare stammen aus Schachtgräbern der Nekropole von S. Monique und werden im Magazin des Musée de Carthage aufbewahrt. Besonders nahe stehen den bisher genannten Beispielen zwei Särge, die zwar über keine vertieften Felder verfügen, aber an den selben Stellen der Kastenlangseiten ähnliche skulptierte Scheiben bzw. Rosetten aufweisen (*Abb. 13*).²⁷ Beide Stücke gleichen den vier bislang genannten Marmorsärgen in Material, Proportionen, oberer und unterer Profilierung und deren Bemalung. Auch die Deckelgestaltung stimmt in allen Details überein, mit der Ausnahme, dass eines der beiden Exemplare in seinen Giebfeldern zusätzlich über jeweils eine flach reliefierte Skylla verfügt. Dieses Detail wiederum erinnert an einen weiteren karthagischen Sarkophag (*Abb. 14*),²⁸ der den bereits genannten Stücken mit Ausnahme seiner undekorierten Frieszone²⁹ in allen Details entspricht, sich aber zudem durch eine Bemalung seiner Giebfelder mit einer Skylla zwischen Blättern und Girlanden auszeichnet. Figürlich bemalte Giebelympana weist auch ein weiterer Sarkophag der karthagischen Nekropole auf, der wiederum

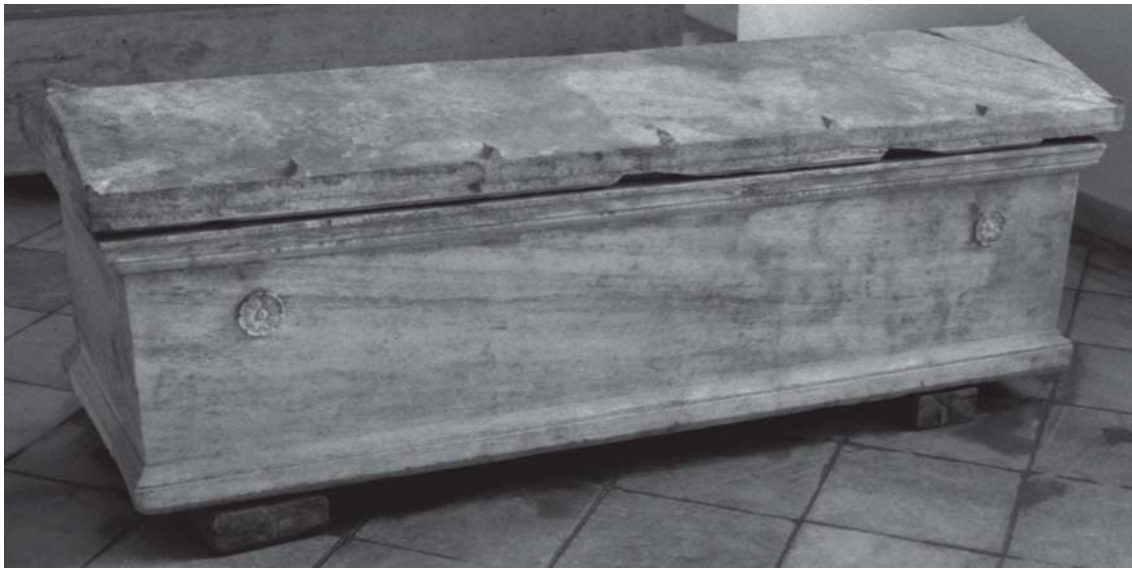


Abb. 13. Sarkophag mit skulptierten Rosetten aus Karthago, Musée de Carthage (Photographie I. Hitzl).



Abb. 14. Sarkophag (mit Skylla-Dekor in den Giebfeldern) aus Karthago, Musée de Carthage (Photographie I. Hitzl).

in Material, Proportionen, Form des Deckels und der Profilleisten bzw. ihrer Bemalung eng an die bislang genannten Stücke anschließt (Abb. 15).³⁰ Ferner stammen aus Karthago drei über keinen zusätzlichen plastischen Dekor verfügende Sarkophage aus weißem Marmor, die den bislang

beschriebenen in Form, Proportionen, Profilleisten und deren Bemalung und Deckelgestaltung vergleichbar sind.³¹ Diesem Typ dürften die im Sockel der Kanzel in S. Maria in Castello verbauten Fragmente angehören (Abb. 8, 9). Ein weiterer Sarg (Abb. 16) lässt sich den bislang angeführten



Abb. 15. Sarkophag (mit Löwengreifen-Dekor in den Giebfeldern) aus Karthago, Musée de Carthage (Photographie I. Hitzl).



Abb. 16. Sarkophag mit Dachziegel-Deckel aus Karthago, Musée de Carthage (Photographie I. Hitzl).



Abb. 17. 'Priestersarkophag' aus Tarquinia, Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (Photographie H. Schwanke, D-DAI-Rom-79.2).



Abb. 18. Sarkophag mit männlicher Deckelfigur und 'Tanitpriesterinnensarkophag' aus Karthago, Karthago, Musée de Carthage (Photographie Autor).



Abb. 19. Sarkophag mit Dachziegeldeckel aus Cerveteri, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Caerite (Photographie H. Behrens, D-DAI-Rom-2011.3282).

Stücken in vielen Details an die Seite stellen, zeichnet sich aber durch eine aufwändigere plastische Gestaltung des Deckels mit Dachziegeln und einer daraus resultierenden größeren Zahl an Antefixen aus.³² Nur ein letzter marmorner Sarg mit Giebeldeckel dieses Zeithorizonts aus Karthago unterscheidet sich in Form und Material signifikant von

der Gruppe.³³ Für diesen Sarkophag dürfte ein anderer Ursprungsort oder Werkstattzusammenhang anzunehmen sein.³⁴ Nahe kommen der Gruppe dagegen zwei aus Kalkstein gearbeitete Särge aus Schachtgräbern in Karthago, die einfacher gestaltet sind, bei denen der Fundort aber eine Nachahmung der marmornen Gruppe wahrscheinlich

macht.³⁵ Den karthagischen Marmorsarkophagen sind schließlich noch die vier bekannten Stücke mit 'stehenden' Deckelfiguren zugehörig, heute zum Teil im Musée de Carthage und zum Teil im Louvre (Abb. 17, 18, 20, 21).³⁶ Auch deren Kästen sind in Material und Form gut vergleichbar, nur abgeschrägte Fußplatten sind nicht in allen Fällen vorhanden. Für einen engen Zusammenhang beider Gruppen, also der besprochenen Sarkophage mit Giebeldeckeln und der Sarkophage mit 'stehenden' Deckelfiguren, sprechen das übereinstimmende Verbreitungsgebiet, die Gliederung des Sarkophagkastens, die Form der Akrotere und die Form und Bemalung der Profileisten.³⁷ Mit den karthagischen Stücken stimmt in allen Details der 'Priestersarkophag' des Laris Partianus aus Tarquinia³⁸ überein (Abb. 17, 20), der demnach einen Export solcher Särge mit 'stehenden' Deckelfiguren nach Etrurien nachvollziehbar macht. Solche etruskischen Importe blieben jedoch nicht auf diese Gruppe beschränkt: Sie lassen sich vielmehr auch für die Sarkophage mit Giebeldeckeln in den Stücken aus Tarquinia und San Giuliano fassen. Weitere Indizien steuern die bereits genannte lokale Imitation im Hof des Nationalmuseums von Tarquinia (Abb. 12) und ein Sarkophag aus der Tomba dei Sarcofagi in Cerveteri³⁹ (Abb. 19) bei, die in Etrurien formale Ausnahmen darstellen. Während sich der Sarg in Cerveteri sehr eng an das karthagische Stück mit Dachziegeldeckel (Abb. 16) anlehnt, von dem er nur im lokalen Material und seiner Bemalung differiert, lässt sich der Nenfrosarg gut mit den marmornen Importen aus Tarquinia und San Giuliano vergleichen, auch wenn hier die skulptierten Scheiben fehlen.

Insgesamt ergibt sich so eine Sarkophaggruppe, deren Vertreter in vielerlei Hinsicht eng miteinander verbunden sind: Durch das verwendete Material, vor allem aber durch die Kastenform, bei der auf eine (fast immer vorhandene) abgeschrägte Fußplatte eine Basisplatte und ein geglättetes Kymation und auf die anschließende, unterschiedlich gestaltete, aber immer nur grob geglättete Frieszone wiederum ein geglättetes Kymation, eine Deckplatte und ein Falz folgen. Sehr homogen ist die Gruppe weiter in der Bemalung der Kymatien, von denen das untere einen lesbischen Blattstab mit blauen Herzblättern auf rotem Grund aufweist, das obere dagegen einen Eierstab mit meist blauen Eiern und blauen oder schwarzen Lanzettblättern.⁴⁰ Mehrfach sind zudem schmale rote bzw. blaue Farbstreifen an den Rändern der Boden- oder Deckplatten zu verzeichnen. Alle Sarkophage mit Giebeldeckeln verfügen über Eck- und Mittelakrotere, die denen der Deckel mit stehenden

Figuren formal ähneln, und meist fünf Antefixe; die Akrotere sind in beiden Gruppen teilweise mit Palmetten bemalt. Von vier der fünf figürlichen Deckel unterscheiden sich ihre giebeldachförmigen Gegenstücke nur durch eine zum Kasten vermittelnde Leiste, die oft bemalt ist. Alle anderen Details sprechen für einen engen Zusammenhang, möglicherweise gar eine Werkstatt, in der die Sarkophage plastisch ausgearbeitet und ihre Profile geglättet und bemalt worden sind. Dass es sich dabei tatsächlich um signifikante Merkmale handelt, zeigt der Vergleich mit anderen, auf den ersten Blick verwandten Särgen:⁴¹ In der Zusammenstellung von Ingrid Hitzl finden sich nur zwei weitere Marmorsarkophage, die konkrete Ähnlichkeiten in Form, Aufbau und Bearbeitungszustand aufweisen. Von diesen unterscheidet sich das insgesamt noch ähnlichere Stück in Athen⁴² durch seine größere Breite, den Bearbeitungszustand⁴³ und v.a. die auffälligen Bossen im Giebelfeld. Das zweite Stück in Ägina⁴⁴ differiert in seinen Viertelrundstäben im Inneren, dem zu großen Deckel mit überstehender Leiste, den völlig anders proportionierten und teilweise einzeln angesetzten Akroteren, den rahmenden Leisten der Kastenseiten und Giebelfelder, den Bossen an den Ecken und den insgesamt etwas größeren Maßen. Ein wegen des verwendeten Sandsteins sicher lokal gefertigter Sarkophag aus Vassallaggi, heute in Syrakus,⁴⁵ gehört ebenfalls einem ähnlichen Typ an, unterscheidet sich aber durch die höheren, spitzeren Akrotere, den fehlenden unteren Abschluss der Giebeltympana und die flache Leiste, welche die Giebelschrägen umrahmt und auf Sizilien viele Vergleiche findet. Die gut erhaltenen Bemalungen der Profilzonen des Stücks⁴⁶ weichen zudem stark von denen unserer Gruppe ab, ebenso wie diejenigen eines auch anders geformten Marmorsarkophags aus Agrigent.⁴⁷ Solche Vergleiche können belegen, dass die gemalte Dekoration unserer Exemplare nicht alternativlos ist. Auch die zahlreichen, im grundsätzlichen Typus vergleichbaren Sarkophage Siziliens, größtenteils aus Terrakotta, zeigen im Detail wenig Ähnlichkeiten mit den hier behandelten Stücken.⁴⁸ Gleiches gilt für die hochwertigsten der ins 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. datierenden steinernen Sarkophage aus den Nekropolen von Lipari, deren Kästen häufig zweiteilig vorkragende Fußplatten aufweisen und deren Deckel aus mehreren Platten zusammengesetzt sind. Auffällig sind weiter die rahmenden Leisten der Dachschrägen und das Fehlen bzw. die gänzlich andere Form der oft wie aufgesetzt wirkenden Akrotere.⁴⁹

Diese Vergleiche legen also erneut die Zusammengehörigkeit der Gruppe nahe: Offenbar wurde



Abb. 20. 'Priestersarkophag' aus Tarquinia,
Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
(Photographie H. Schwanke, D-DAI-Rom-79.1).

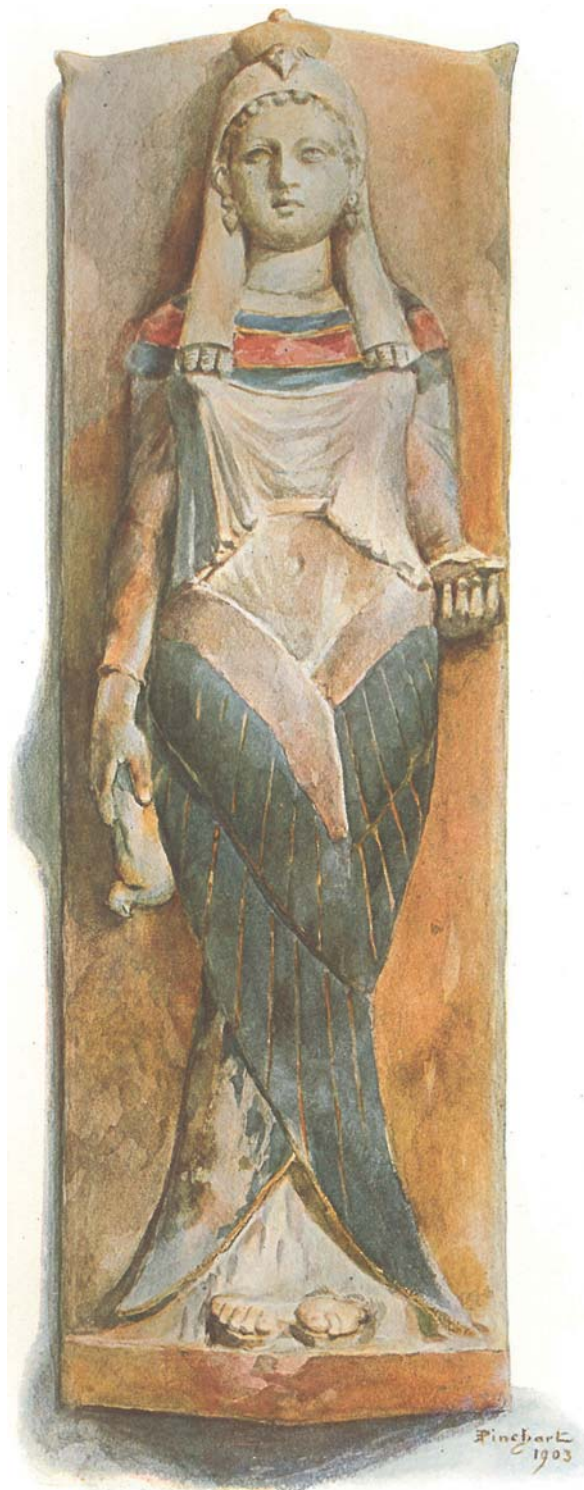


Abb. 21. 'Tanitpriesterinnensarkophag' aus
Karthago, Musée de Carthage
(nach Héron de Villefosse 1905, Taf. 8).

für zwei grundlegende Typen, den Sarkophag mit 'stehender' Deckelfigur und den Sarkophag mit Giebeldeckel, dieselbe Kastengrundform genutzt, während diese beim zweiten Typ durch verschiedene Zusätze variiert und somit aufgewertet werden konnte.⁵⁰ Den einfachsten Untertyp mit Giebeldeckel, der durch Bemalungen des Deckels ergänzt werden konnte, stellen die Särge mit unverzierten Frieszonen dar; eine Variante davon sind die 'Holztruhentypus-Sarkophag' und eine zweite, womöglich daraus abgeleitete und etwas einfachere Variante die 'Scheiben/Rosetten-Sarkophag'. Eine letzte Form liegt in dem Sarg vor, der einen aufwändigeren Deckel mit skulptierten Dachziegeln trägt - und der Imitation in Cerveteri.

Wo wurden diese Sarkophag nun gefertigt? Schon ihr Verbreitungsgebiet macht einen Ursprung in Karthago ausgesprochen wahrscheinlich.⁵¹ Für eine dortige Produktion zumindest der Sarkophag mit 'stehenden' Deckelfiguren wurden bereits ikonographische und konzeptionelle Argumente vorgebracht.⁵² Die unmittelbar mit attischen Grabreliefs vergleichbaren Köpfe besonders der männlichen Figuren (Abb. 20), die weibliche Gewandfigur des Sargs in Paris, die Bemalung der Kymatien und der importierte Stein machen zwar eine Mitwirkung griechischer, am ehesten attischer Handwerker recht wahrscheinlich,⁵³ fremdartig wirkt dahingehend allerdings die Verbindung von Giebeldeckel und darin 'eingelassener' Figur.⁵⁴ Diese ließe sich durch einen Einfluss der karthagischen Grabstelen und Grabstatuen erklären, die einfachere, doch vergleichbare Figuren aufweisen, welche dann in Verbindung mit den Giebeldeckeln der prestigeträchtigen Marmorsarkophag in die Horizontale projiziert worden wären.⁵⁵ Für eine Entstehung in Karthago sprechen weiter ikonographische Eigenheiten: Der Sarkophag der sog. Tanitpriesterin (Abb. 18, 21) zeigt in der Gewandung, zu der ein Flügelpaar, ein ägyptischer Kragen und eine Geierkappe gehören, Attribute, die Doris Junginger auf die karthagische Tanit-Ikonographie zurückführen konnte.⁵⁶ Auch die männlichen Deckelfiguren (Abb. 20) weisen mit dem Gestus mit erhobener rechter Hand und Pyxis, dem über die linke Schulter gelegten Tuch und den Ohrringen klar punische Züge auf.⁵⁷ Durch den Gestus und das Tuch scheinen die Dargestellten als Adoranten charakterisiert.⁵⁸

Die Annahme einer Herstellung dieser Särge in Karthago unterstützt die These eines dortigen Ursprungs der eng verwandten Sarkophag mit Giebeldeckeln; die Stücke aus Tarquinia und San Giuliano sind also mutmaßlich aus Karthago importiert worden. Dieser Vorgang soll hier zum

Abschluss historisch kontextualisiert werden. Die etruskisch-punischen Handelsbeziehungen sind schon vielfach zusammengefasst worden.⁵⁹ Nach einem Höhepunkt im späten 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. und einem Abbruch im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. lassen sie sich ab der 2. Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. wieder fassen.⁶⁰ Die marmornen Sarkophag können somit im Kontext dieser Erneuerung der Kontakte gesehen werden. Einen Sonderfall unter den verhandelten Gütern stellt der 'Priestersarkophag' aus Tarquinia dar: Hier scheinen die spezifisch punische Ikonographie und Aussage der Deckelfigur - die Darstellung des Verstorbenen als karthagischer Kultteilnehmer - eine bewusste Auswahl des Stücks durch den Käufer vor Ort wahrscheinlich zu machen. Die plausibelste Erklärung mag sein, dass Laris Partiuus längere Zeit in Karthago verbrachte, davon finanziell profitierte und sich somit und aufgrund seiner Kontakte mit der karthagischen Gesellschaft ein ansonsten nur selten für die punische Elite gefertigtes Grabmonument wünschte. Mit dem Sarkophag und dem neu erworbenen Reichtum wäre er dann nach Etrurien zurückgekehrt, wo er als *homo novus* ein Familiengrab gründete. Es könnte sich bei ihm also um einen Händler, einen Söldnerführer o.ä. handeln.⁶¹ Die Anwesenheit von Etruskern in Karthago lässt sich in dieser Zeit tatsächlich aus einem caeretanischen Cippus im dortigen Tophet, den Abdrücken etruskischer Gemmen im Tempelarchiv und onomastischen Untersuchungen erschließen.⁶²

Bei den anderen Importsärgen aus Tarquinia und San Giuliano sind die Umstände der Verhandlung schwerer zu klären, da die Objekte kulturübergreifend verständlich sind. Zu begehrten Handelsgütern kann sie allein ihr Material und die sorgfältige Ausarbeitung gemacht haben - wenngleich nicht ausgeschlossen werden kann, dass die Sarkophag vom zeitgenössischen Betrachter nicht nur als importierte, sondern sogar als spezifisch karthagische Produkte erkannt wurden. Die Wahl des in Karthago nur einmal belegten 'Holztruhentypus' in gleich zwei Fällen mag auf die Popularität dieser Form in der zeitgenössischen etruskischen Sarkophagplastik zurückzuführen sein.⁶³ Der Transport könnte prinzipiell von Etruskern oder Puniern veranlasst worden sein. Die Tatsache, dass drei der vier Importstücke nach Tarquinia gelangten und das vierte Exemplar aus dem im Hinterland liegenden, eng mit Tarquinia verbundenen San Giuliano stammt,⁶⁴ legt allerdings eine Involvierung tarquinischer Händler nahe - vielleicht geht gar die Verhandlung aller Stücke auf Laris Partiuus zurück. Interes-

sant ist dahingehend die ursprüngliche Existenz gleich dreier gleichförmiger Namensauf- bzw. Inschriften auf dessen Sarkophag: Neben zwei gemalten Aufschriften auf dem Deckel wurde eine dritte, deren eingehauene erste und letzte Buchstaben noch lesbar sind, auf der Oberkante des Kastens dokumentiert.⁶⁵ Dieser Text war nicht sichtbar, sobald der Deckel auf dem Kasten lag.⁶⁶ Deshalb mag es sich dabei um eine im Zusammenhang der Verhandlung erfolgte Aufschrift handeln, die den Besitzer des Kastens identifizierte. Sollte diese Vermutung zutreffen, könnte die Inschrift eine gemeinsame Verhandlung gleich mehrerer marmorner Sarkophage durch Etrusker belegen, bei der mehrere gleichförmige Kästen - man denke bspw. an das in S. Maria in Castello in der Kanzel verbaute Stück (*Abb. 8, 9*) - unterscheidbar gemacht werden mussten. Auch diese Aufschriften könnten somit eine gemeinsame Verschiffung mehrerer Sarkophage durch Etrusker anzeigen.

Unabhängig von den Mechanismen der Verhandlung dürften der griechisch geprägte 'Priestersarkophag' und die marmornen Särge mit Giebeldeckeln nach ihrer Ankunft in Etrurien Aufsehen erregt haben.⁶⁷ Es leuchtet somit ein, dass die Importstücke die gerade aufkommende Herstellung jüngeretruskischer Steinsarkophage partiell beeinflussen konnten.⁶⁸

ANMERKUNGEN

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¹ Morandi 1995. Vgl. zu den Ergebnissen auch kurz Morandi 2005, 180 Nr. 3.

² Morandi 1995, 270-271 m. Anm. 9. Der Amazonensarkophag besteht allerdings nicht aus Marmor, sondern aus Alabaster, vgl. Bottini 2007, 98; Cianferoni 2007, 26.

³ Morandi 1995, 272, 275, 279-282. Zur Person des Larth Velcha vgl. Morandi Tarabella 2004, 180, 643; Chiesa 2005, 233.

⁴ Die alphabetische Nummerierung der Fragmente folgt Morandi 1995. Hier sind nur zusätzliche oder um neue Beobachtungen ergänzte Blöcke abgebildet; für weitere Photographien sei auf Morandi 1995 verwiesen. Die dort angegebenen Maße sind vor Ort überprüft worden. Morandi ordnete seinem Sarkophag 1 die Blöcke **a-e**, **g**, **h**, seinem Sarkophag 2 die Fragmente **f**, **i** und seinem Sarkophag 3 die Fragmente **l**, **m**, **n** zu; die Zuweisung der Blöcke **o**, **p** ließ er offen.

⁵ Zur Datierung der Spolierung Morandi 1995, 268-269, 281-282 m. Anm. 7.

⁶ Die Oberfläche dieses Streifens ist zudem weniger eben und weist keine gleichmäßigen Zahneisenspuren auf.
⁷ Eine leichte Erhebung etwa in der Mitte des Blocks setzt an der Innenseite an und ist etwa 4 cm breit; die Identifizierung als Rest des Falzes, der mit Blick auf die Vergleichsstücke vorhanden gewesen sein dürfte, ist jedoch nicht eindeutig.

⁸ Hafner 1939, Nr. A 1; Martelli 1975, 9-12; Hitzl 1991, Nr. 15 *Abb. 88-89*; van der Meer 2004, 164 O 5.

⁹ Morandi 1995, 278.

¹⁰ Morandi 1995, 278. Morandis zweites Argument, der Kasten, zu dem Fragment **c** gehöre, habe bereits einen Boden, da dieser in den Fragmenten **d**, **e**, **g** und **h** zu erkennen sei (vgl. ebd.), ist letztlich aus diesem postulierten Materialunterschied entwickelt, da er **d**, **e**, **g** und **h** aufgrund des Materials **c** zuweist.

¹¹ Dridi 2011, 468.

¹² Die unterschiedlich starke Rötung einzelner Stellen und die - nicht grundsätzlichen - Unterschiede zwischen den genannten Fragmenten finden mit der unterschiedlich starken antiken Glättung, den Lagerungsbedingungen im Grab und der Wiederverwendung sowie dem unterschiedlich starken Abrieb in der neuzeitlichen Verbauung diverse Erklärungsmöglichkeiten.

¹³ Für den Sarkophag aus einem Schachtgrab der Nekropole von S. Monique in Karthago, heute im Magazin des Musée de Carthage, vgl. Delattre 1902d; Héron de Villefosse 1905, Nr. 6; Hafner 1939, Nr. A 2; Hitzl 1991, Nr. 27 *Abb. 79-80*. Für den Sarkophag aus Larnaka in der dortigen Lazaruskirche vgl. Goethert 1934, 104 *Abb. 15*; Hafner 1939, Nr. A 3; Hitzl 1991, Nr. 34.

¹⁴ Aufgrund ihres zumindest ähnlichen Steinmaterials und ihrer Stärken von 6-10 cm könnten auch drei im rechten Seitenschiff aufbewahrte Platten ohne erkennbare Dekorationsreste unserem Sarkophagkasten zugehörig sein, die hier wegen ihrer geringen Größe und ihres uncharakteristischen Erscheinungsbildes nicht näher besprochen werden.

¹⁵ Nicht auszuschließen ist eine Zugehörigkeit eines oder beider der direkt unter Fragment **c** verbauten Blöcke, die 86 × 7,5 (links) bzw. 75 × 8 cm (rechts) messen, wobei das Abweichungen in der Kastenwandstärke bedeuten würde. Das unter Morandis Fragmenten einzige weitere eindeutige Sarkophagfragment **l**, bei dem es sich um eine Kastenschmalseite mit Resten der beiden (in gegenwärtiger Lage unten) ansetzenden Langseiten handelt, kann nicht zugehörig sein, da es zu breit ist. Tatsächlich unterscheidet sich dieses Fragment auch im Material: es besteht aus deutlich gröberporigem weißen Stein mit unregelmäßigen, grauen, viele Löcher aufweisenden Adern (*Abb. 2*). Es dürfte sich bei **l** wohl am ehesten um ein Fragment eines zweiten Sarkophags aus Kalkstein handeln. Zwei weitere Fragmente des selben Steins sind im Kirchenboden unterhalb der Kuppel - hinter der Stufe im Mittelschiff - verbaut und auch Morandis Blöcke **m** und **n** mögen diesem Stück zugehörig sein; eine Rekonstruktion des wohl undekorierten Sarkophags wird damit allerdings noch nicht ermöglicht. In Farbe und Äderung sehr gut vergleichbar ist der weiße Kalkstein (vom Monte Circeo?) des 'Magnatensarkophag' aus dem Partunusgrab, vgl. Herbig 1952, Nr. 120; van der Meer 2001, 91 H 120; 2004, 142 H 120.

¹⁶ Eine Übertragung der Deckelschrägen und der Proportionen des Heidelberger Deckels ergibt, dass die Fragmente **a** und **b** nicht aus einer der beiden Deckelschrägen geschnitten sein können, sondern jeweils den

- reduzierten Teil einer Giebelschräge gebildet haben müssen, wobei der First herausgeschnitten wurde; beide Blöcke müssen zumindest an der erkennbaren Seite begradigt sein, wie die sichtbaren rechten Winkel zeigen; tatsächlich sind diese Flächen deutlich rauer als die antik geglätteten Oberseiten. Die anzunehmenden Akrotere und Antefixe des Dachdeckels dürften bei diesen Arbeiten entfernt worden sein.
- ¹⁷ Morandi 1995, 275 wies bereits auf den ebenfalls aus Tarquinia stammenden Amazonensarkophag in Florenz hin, vgl. dazu auch Agostiniani 2007; weitere Beispiele wären der 'Priestersarkophag' aus Tarquinia (ursprünglich aufgemalt) und Herbig 1952, Kat. Nr. 92, 93, 95. Vgl. auch ebd. Nr. 135 (Seitenfläche der Langseite).
- ¹⁸ Vgl. bspw. Blanck 1982, 27; Hitzl 1991, 139, 176, 185-195, 197; Bol/Junginger 2004, 154; Fleischer 2004, 376; van der Meer 2004, 142, 164; Bol/Frede 2005, 180; Steingräber 2006, 187; Dridi 2011a, 465.
- ¹⁹ Morandi Tarabella 2004, 180 Nr. 3 datiert die Bestattung des Larth Velcha, des Grabbegründers der Tomba degli Scudi, um 330 v.Chr.; die Ausmalung des Grabes wird gemeinhin in das 3. Viertel des 4. Jhs. v.Chr. datiert, vgl. Steingräber 1985, 350; Maggiani 2005; Steingräber 2006, 210; Menzel/Naso 2007, 35; Torelli 2007, 156; Rouveret 2014, 247.
- ²⁰ Solche Adern sind am Stück in Heidelberg v.a. im Deckel und in einer Schmalseite zu erkennen.
- ²¹ S.u. Anm. 28-32 und Abb. 14-16.
- ²² Zum Fragment I s.o. Anm. 15. Eine Identifizierung als Sarkophagfragment scheint darüber hinaus bei dem kleinen Eckblock **p** möglich, wobei hier ein (antiker?) Gusskanal Fragen aufwirft. Zumindest das Material der Blöcke **d**, **e**, **g**, **h** und **o** wirkt vergleichbar; die Blöcke **m** und **n** wiederum zeichnen sich durch verschiedene grün verfärbte gröbere, unregelmäßige Adern und kleine dunkle Einschlüsse aus, die für ein abermals anderes Material sprechen dürften.
- ²³ Vgl. oben Anm. 8, 13.
- ²⁴ Kastenmaße (in cm): Tarquinia: 203 × 61 × 51; San Giuliano/Heidelberg: 190 × 70 × 53; Karthago: 206 × 56 × 53; Larnaka: 196 × 67 × 65.
- ²⁵ Die Gestaltung der Scheiben variiert. Die zweiteiligen Scheiben der Stücke in Heidelberg und Karthago wirken wie eine Vergrößerung der dreiteiligen Scheiben vieler attischer Stelen, vgl. bspw. Clairmont 1993, Nr. 172, 2.351e, 2.865a, 4.319. Die achtblättrigen Rosetten der Stücke in Larnaka und eines nur mit Rosetten verzierten Sargs in Karthago, vgl. unten Anm. 27, dagegen finden unmittelbare Vergleiche auf attischen Rosettenstelen, vgl. Clairmont 1993, Nr. 2.422c, 2.882. Während die Scheiben des 'Holztruhentypus-Sarkophags' aus Karthago ursprünglich rot-blaue gemalte Rosetten getragen haben, ist bei dem Stück aus San Giuliano nur eine flächige rote Farbfüllung erkennbar. Sehr gut möglich ist jedoch, dass auch hier und auf einem Stück mit einfachen Scheiben in Karthago, vgl. unten Anm. 27, ursprünglich Rosetten aufgemalt waren. Zu auf nur grob skulptierten Scheiben aufgemalten Rosetten einer etwa zeitgenössischen attischen Grabstele vgl. Posamentir 2006, Kat. Nr. 82. Interessant ist, dass aus der selben karthagischen Nekropole eine (attische?) Rosettenstele - mit Grabinschrift eines Phöniziers aus Kition - bekannt ist, vgl. Delattre 1905, 22 Abb. 45.
- ²⁶ Angemerkt sei, dass eine systematische Dokumentation der Farbreste dieser Profilleisten nicht erfolgt ist und der Autor das Stück nicht sehen konnte; womöglich ließen sich vor Ort noch geringe Reste feststellen.
- ²⁷ Zum Stück mit Scheibendekor vgl. Delattre 1903a, 21-22; 1904a, 11 Abb. 24; Héron de Villefosse 1905, Nr. 8; Hafner 1939, Nr. D 6; Cintas 1976, 379 Nr. 8 Taf. 63, 6; Hitzl 1991, Nr. 28 Abb. 81, zum Stück mit zu Rosetten skulptierten Scheiben und Skyllareliefs in den Giebelfeldern (Inv. Nr. 898.138) vgl. Delattre 1904b, 509-511; Hafner 1939, Nr. D 9; Cintas 1976, 380-381 Nr. 14; Bénichou-Safar 1982, Abb. 70, 1-2; Hitzl 1991, Nr. 31 Abb. 82-83.
- ²⁸ Delattre 1902b; Héron de Villefosse 1905, Nr. 4; Hafner 1939, Nr. D 5; Cintas 1976, 380 Nr. 10; Hitzl 1991, Nr. 25 Abb. 74-75.
- ²⁹ Vergleichbare Felder mögen hier aufgemalt gewesen sein; die Stücke wären auf Vorritzungen zu prüfen.
- ³⁰ Inv. Nr. 898.137. Vgl. dazu Delattre 1902c; Héron de Villefosse 1905, Nr. 5 Abb. 3; Hafner 1939, Nr. D 4; Cintas 1976, 379-380 Nr. 9; Hitzl 1991, Nr. 26 Abb. 76-78c. Die Giebelfelder zeigen jeweils zwei antithetische Löwengreifen.
- ³¹ Vgl. zum ersten Stück Delattre 18-21 Abb. 33; Héron de Villefosse 1905, Nr. 1; Hafner 1939, Nr. D 1; Hitzl 1991, Nr. 23 Abb. 71, zum zweiten Héron de Villefosse 1905, Nr. 11; Hafner 1939, Nr. D 7 und zum dritten Héron de Villefosse 1905, Nr. 12; Hafner 1939, 462 Nr. 8.
- ³² Delattre 1901a, 273-278; Héron de Villefosse 1905, Nr. 2; Hafner 1939, Nr. D 3; Cintas 1976, 379 Nr. 6; Hitzl 1991, Nr. 24 Abb. 72-73; Bénichou-Safar 2012, 39 Taf. 3. Hier wurden die Giebelfelder mit Büsten bemalt.
- ³³ Delattre 1906; Héron de Villefosse 1906; Hafner 1939, Nr. D 10; Cintas 1976, 381 Nr. 15; Hitzl 1991, Nr. 32 Abb. 84-85; Dridi 2004, 146 Taf. 60a Farbt. 5a. Der aus gröberkristallinem, graugeädertem Marmor bestehende Sarg ist aufgrund der ursprünglichen Einfügung eines vergoldeten hölzernen Sarkophags deutlich größer. Unterschiedlich gestaltet ist hier ansonsten v.a. der Deckel, dessen Akrotere sich formal unterscheiden, bei dem die Giebelfelder zwar oben mehrfach abgesetzt sind, aber unten ohne Abgrenzung zum Kasten hin auslaufen, und der über keine zum Kasten vermittelnde Leiste am unteren Rand verfügt. Am Kasten fehlt die abgeschrägte Fußplatte; die Profilleisten waren vergoldet.
- ³⁴ Dridi 2011, 466. Dridi vermutet für diesen Sarkophag eine Verwendung von prokonnesischem Marmor (persönliche Mitteilung), die allerdings durch Analysen gesichert werden müsste. Diese Vermutung klingt bei Dridi 2006, 140 bereits an.
- ³⁵ Beide Stücke sind im Garten des Museums ausgestellt. Zum ersten, mit erhaltenem Deckel, vgl. Delattre 1898b, 552-553; 1900, Taf. 10, 4; 1901b, 18-19 Abb. 37; Hafner 1939, Nr. D 2; Cintas 1976, 378 Nr. 2, zum zweiten, der anscheinend ohne Deckel gefunden wurde, vgl. Delattre 1899, 95; Sayadi 2007, Abb. S. 39. Ähnliches mag auch für die in Karthago sehr seltenen Ossuarien mit Kymatiensprofilierungen gelten. Eines dieser Stücke befindet sich aktuell im Archäologischen Park an den Thermen nahe des westlichen Südeingangs, ein vergleichbares (oder das selbe) ist auf einer um 1905 datierten Ansicht des Musée Lavagerie zu sehen, vgl. Sayadi 2007, Abb. S. 104, während eine weitere, etwas frühere Ansicht des Gartens zumindest zwei weitere solche Knochenkisten zeigt, vgl. Delattre 1904a, Abb. 24. Vgl. auch die Beschreibung eines solchen Stücks (mit Farbresten) bei Delattre 1898c, 620; 1901c, 4. 1901a, 273 bezeichnet die Profilierungen bei Ossuarien als sehr selten und nennt insgesamt drei Stücke, von denen eines aus dem Grab des Dachziegel-Sarkophags stammt; ein weiteres solches Ossuarium wurde 1906 gefunden, vgl. dazu Delattre 1906, 11, der bereits eine Imitation der großformatigen Sarkophage vermutet, vgl. auch ders. 1901c, 4.

- ³⁶ Im Musée de Carthage befinden sich ein Sarkophag mit männlicher Deckelfigur (Inv. Nr. 02.27), vgl. Delattre 1903b, 24-25; Héron de Villefosse 1905, Nr. 9; Cintas 1976, 380 Nr. 11; Hitzl 1991, Nr. 29 Abb. 94-96; Bol/Junginger 2004, Kat. Nr. 3, und einer mit weiblicher Deckelfigur ('Tanitpriesterinnensarkophag' Inv. Nr. 02.26), vgl. Delattre 1903b, 26-29; Héron de Villefosse 1905, Nr. 10; Cintas 1976, 380 Nr. 12; Hitzl 1991, Nr. 30 Abb. 100; Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe 2004, 284-285 Kat. Nr. 61; Bol/Junginger 2004, Kat. Nr. 2. Beide stammen aus dem selben Grab. Zwei weitere Särge aus zwei weiteren Schachtgräbern sind in Paris im Musée du Louvre ausgestellt. Darunter zeigt ebenfalls einer eine männliche Deckelfigur (Inv. Nr. MND 800), vgl. Delattre 1903a, 11-16; Héron de Villefosse 1905, Nr. 7; Cintas 1976, 380 Nr. 13; Hitzl 1991, Nr. 41 Abb. 97; Bol/Junginger 2004, Kat. Nr. 4, und einer eine weibliche (Inv. Nr. MND 799), vgl. Delattre 1902a, bes. 61-64; Héron de Villefosse 1905, Nr. 3; Cintas 1976, 379 Nr. 7; Hitzl 1991, Nr. 40 Abb. 98-99; Bol/Junginger 2004, Kat. Nr. 1.
- ³⁷ Leider werden die Sarkophage mit Giebeldeckeln im Musée de Carthage aktuell in einem nicht zugänglichen Bereich des Magazins aufbewahrt, wie mir Sihem Rudesli freundlicherweise mitteilte. Ich danke ihr, Ralf Bockmann und Anna Maria Borowska dennoch für ihre Bemühungen, mir den Zugang zu diesen Stücken zu ermöglichen. Da die Bemalungen der Profilleisten großer Teile der Sarkophage mit Giebeldeckeln für diese Arbeit nicht überprüft werden konnten und bislang wenig Beachtung fanden, kann die Rekonstruktion der Bemalung dieser Leisten nur auf den frühen Publikationen der Stücke fußen. Leider ist eine wirklich systematische Verzeichnung der Farbreste nie erfolgt. Die Angaben in den Grabungsberichten und bei Héron de Villefosse 1905 legen jedoch nahe, dass alle Sarkophage einen Eierstab auf dem oberen Profil und ein lesbisches Kymation auf dem unteren Profil trugen; teilweise sind hier für das untere Profil rote oder rote und blaue Farbreste und für das obere Profil blaue Farbspuren vermerkt, teilweise ist auch nur generell von roter und blauer Farbe die Rede. Bei den Stücken mit Figurendeckeln und zumindest einem Sarkophag mit Giebeldeckel, vgl. das erste Stück in Anm. 31, sind noch schmale rote bzw. blaue Streifen an den Rändern der Basis- bzw. Deckplatten zu erkennen. Bemerkenswert ist, dass in den Grabungsberichten häufig darauf hingewiesen wird, dass sich die Bemalungen der diversen Sarkophage entsprechen würden. Deshalb scheint es möglich, einen insgesamt gleichförmigen Dekor anzunehmen, auch wenn für viele Stücke keine detaillierten Beschreibungen existieren. Nur die beiden Särge im Musée de Carthage scheinen in der Farbe der Kymationbemalungen Ausnahmen zu bilden, die sich allerdings wiederum in ihrem Eierstab mit rötlichen Eiern und ihrem lesbischen Kymation mit rötlichen Herzblättern eng entsprechen. Diese Abweichung mag in den Vergoldungen von Teilen der Profilleisten, die zumindest bei dem 'Tanitpriesterinnensarkophag' bei der Auffindung noch erkennbar waren, begründet sein. Die beiden insgesamt wohl hochwertigsten Stücke sind auch durch die Vergoldungen der Deckelfiguren und (beim Sarg mit weiblicher Deckelfigur) ihre aufwändige Polychromie qualitativ herausgehoben (Abb. 21).
- ³⁸ Das aus dem Grab der Familie in der Monterozzi-Nekropole stammende Stück ist vor Ort im Museo Archeologico Nazionale ausgestellt (Inv. Nr. RC 9871), vgl. dazu u.a. Herbig 1952, Nr. 121; van der Meer 2001, 91 H 121; Bol/Junginger 2004, Kat. Nr. 5; Fleischer 2004; Meissner 2004; van der Meer 2004, 142 H 121.
- ³⁹ Der Sarg ist heute im Museo Archeologico Nazionale Caerite ausgestellt (Inv. Nr. 2013.4.401), vgl. dazu Hafner 1939, Nr. D 17; Hitzl 1991, Nr. 11 Abb. 90; Thiermann/Arnold 2013, 115-116 Nr. 4; Thiermann 2013. Zur Wertung als lokale Imitation eines karthagischen Vorbildes vgl. Goethert 1974, 295; Hitzl 1991, 92; Meissner 2004, 192; Thiermann 2013, 297. Lokale Abwandlungen bzw. Eigentümlichkeiten lassen sich in der Bemalung (rotblaue Spuren eines Eierstabs auf dem oberen Kymation) und der Tatsache, dass der Deckel für den Kasten deutlich zu lang ist, fassen. Während solche Ungenauigkeiten an keinem der karthagischen Sarkophage zu beobachten sind, wie mir H. Dredi freundlicherweise mitteilte, sind sie an etruskischen Sarkophagen verbreitet.
- ⁴⁰ Die blaue Färbung der Eier, Lanzettblätter und Herzblätter ist nur mehr selten erhalten, in den Grabungsberichten ist jedoch häufig pauschal von blau-roten Eier- bzw. Blattstäben die Rede. Vgl. auch Delattre 1898a, 210; 1901a, 275; 1901c, 20; 1902b, 292, der beschreibt, wie die blauen Bemalungsreste kurz nach der Freilegung verschwanden.
- ⁴¹ Hier werden nur marmorne Stücke mit nicht geglätteten Kästen und nicht skulptierten Kymatien, die zur Basis- bzw. Deckplatte überleiten, gezählt. Die Sarkophage aus der Königsnekropole von Sidon vertreten mit ihrem reichen Dekor einen anderen Typ und eine andere Qualitätsstufe, ebenso wie der athenische Sarkophag in Kato Kefissia, vgl. Schilardi 2010, 551 m. Anm. 91 u. Abb., dessen Kasten geglättet ist und dessen Kymatien skulptiert sind. Dass auch ein Falz bei hochwertigen Marmorsarkophagen des 4. Jhs. v.Chr. nicht selbstverständlich ist, zeigt der sog. Fugger- oder Amazonensarkophag in Wien, vgl. Fleischer et al. 1998, 11-12, 21-22.
- ⁴² Athen, Kloster Daphni; vgl. dazu Hitzl 1991, Nr. 9 m. Abb. 8-9.
- ⁴³ Im Gegensatz zu allen hier zusammengestellten Sarkophagen tragen die Kastenwände nicht Spuren einer Glättung mit dem Zahneisen, sondern einer solchen mit dem Scharriereisen; vgl. dazu Hitzl 1991, Katalog.
- ⁴⁴ Ägina, Garten des Museums; vgl. dazu Hitzl 1991, Nr. 1 m. Abb. 12-13.
- ⁴⁵ Mus. Arch. Reg. Paolo Orsi Inv. Nr. 24188; vgl. dazu Hafner 1939, 463 Nr. 11; Hitzl 1991, Nr. 48 m. Abb. 34; Bonanno 1998, Taf. 66.
- ⁴⁶ Auf dem Deckelrand abwechselnd stehende und hängende Palmetten in Dunkelbraun, von blauer Ranke verbunden; in den eingetieften und unten unprofiliert auslaufenden Giebelfeldern Rankengeschlinge mit zentraler Lotusblüte; Deckplatte mit schwarzbraun-blauem Mäander, oberes Kymation mit rotem Eierstab; darunter Bemalung mit Mäander und rotem Zahnschnitt. Gut erkennbar auf Bonanno 1998, Taf. 66.
- ⁴⁷ Hafner 1939, 463 Nr. 12; Hitzl 1991, Nr. 5: völlig anderer oberer Abschluss mit einem vielgliedrigem Profil, das auf Sizilien viele Vergleiche findet, steileres Sockelprofil, größere, schwerere Akrotere. Bemalung mit einem rotschwarzen Eierstab, einem dorischen Blattüberfall und einem blauschwarzen Mäander am oberen Profil und Deckelrand. Eng vergleichbar Bonanno 1998, Taf. 90 (Agrigent, Necropoli in contrada Mosè). Beide Stücke scheinen allerdings noch ins späte 5. Jh. v.Chr. zu datieren, vgl. ebd. 38 Anm. 124, 208 m. Anm. 257, sodass sich hier eher chronologische Unterschiede fassen lassen könnten.

- ⁴⁸ Bonanno 1998, Taf. 33 erinnert mit dem Rechteckfeld an die Stücke in Tarquinia, Heidelberg, Karthago und Larnaka, seine Profile sind allerdings anders geformt, seine Füllung ist nicht gerahmt, es fehlen Scheiben und untere Füllung, und er weist dafür Rundstäbe in den Innenecken auf; viele Sarkophage zeichnen sich durch andere Giebel-schrägen, vielgliedrigere, anders geformte Profileisten und/oder Rundstäbe oder Säulchen in den Innenecken aus, vgl. bspw. Bonanno 1998, Taf. 34, 36, 63, 74. Vgl. auch den Marmorsarkophag ebd. Taf. 56.
- ⁴⁹ Vgl. Bernabò Brea 2001, 333 Taf. 137,3, Steinsarkophag 889; ebd. 228 Taf. 114,5, 115,2 Steinsarkophag 1661; ebd. 290 Taf. 115,2 Steinsarkophag 1667; ebd. 293 Taf. 115,3 Steinsarkophag 1679; ebd. 286 Taf. 115,1 Steinsarkophag 1636; ebd. 293 Taf. 115,4 Steinsarkophag 1682.
- ⁵⁰ Erneut sei auf die Möglichkeit aufgemalter Rechteckfelder oder Rosetten hingewiesen, deren heutiges Fehlen für das verschiedene Erscheinungsbild der Frieszonen verantwortlich sein mag; die in einem Fall reliefierte und in einem anderen aufgemalte Skylla im Giebfeld oder die bei dem Stück aus Larnaka und dem ansonsten nicht reliefierten Sarkophagkasten in Karthago skulptierten und bei dem 'Holztruhentypus'-Sarkophag in Karthago auf die reliefierten Scheiben aufgemalten Rosetten zeigen, dass mit unterschiedlichen Arten der Angabe des selben Dekors zu rechnen ist; vgl. dazu bspw. auch die bemalten attischen Grabstelen, vgl. Posamentir 2006, und die Grabstelen von Chersonesos, vgl. Posamentir 2011.
- ⁵¹ Zur Gruppe der Sarkophage mit 'stehenden' Deckelfiguren gehören außer den genannten marmornen Särgen zwei Ossuarien aus Karthago, die den ikonographischen Typ der männlichen Sarkophagdeckelfiguren vertreten, vgl. Delattre 1898d; Delattre 1901c, 4-6 Abb. 5-10; Cintas 1976, 378 Nr. 3-4; Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe 2004, 286 Kat. Nr. 64; Bol/Junginger 2004, Kat. Nr. 9-10; Bol/Frede 2005, Kat. Nr. 106, der Holzsarkophag der sog. Prinzessin von Kerkouane, vgl. grundlegend Fantar 1972 und außerdem Bol/Junginger 2004, Nr. 7 Taf. 62a-c Farbt. 3; Bol/Frede 2005, 178 m. Anm. 41 ein nur in einer Fundnotiz belegter Holzsarkophag aus Karthago, vgl. Fantar 1993, 181-182; Bol/Junginger 2004, 178 Nr. 6; Dridi 2004, 147 m. Anm. 39; Bol/Frede 2005, 178 m. Anm. 40; Maaß 2004, 484, und ein seit seinem Verkauf im Jahre 1910 verschollener Terrakottasarkophag mit weiblicher Gewandfigur aus Lilybäum, vgl. Hitzl 1991, 43 m. Anm. 158; Whitaker 1991, 181-182 m. Anm. 44; Bol/Junginger 2004, 178-179 Nr. 8. Bei diesem tönernen Exemplar dürfte es sich um eine lokale Imitation handeln. Seine Profilformen sind auf den erhaltenen Photographien leider nicht mehr eindeutig zu erkennen. Grundlegend vergleichbare, vielgliedrige Profile weisen aber bereits eine Reihe früherer klassischer Tonsarkophage aus Sizilien höherer Form auf, vgl. die Sarkophage Bonanno 1998, Nr. 34 Taf. 36 in Gela oder ebd. Nr. 52 Taf. 74 in Camarina.
- ⁵² Vgl. bspw. Carcopino 1924, 114; Lapeyre 1935, 8; Matz 1974, 22; Bol/Junginger 2004, 154; Bol/Frede 2005, 180.
- ⁵³ Für die Vergleichbarkeit der Köpfe mit attischen Grabreliefs vgl. Bol/Junginger 2004, 154; Bol/Frede 2005, 179. 185 m. Anm. 46 mit diversen Beispielen, außerdem Blanck 1982, 27. Ergänzt sei hier noch das Relief Clairmont 1993, Nr. 4.431 und das ähnliche, doch kleinformatige Nr. 3.389b. Für die Stirnlocken des Stücks in Karthago vgl. den Kopf Bergemann 1997, Naiskos 630 Taf. 75,3.4. Zur Pudicitia des Sargs in Paris vgl. Collignon 1911, 158 Abb. 90; Fleischer 1983, 35-36 m. Anm. 219; Bol/Junginger 2004, 157; Bol/Frede 2005, 179, 185 m. Anm. 48. Die von Martelli 1975 und Schilardi 2010 verbreitete Auffassung, die Sarkophage bestünden aus parischem Marmor, kritisiert richtig Dridi 2011, dessen Bestimmung als pentelischer Marmor allerdings, von zwei Ausnahmen abgesehen, ebenfalls nicht auf petrographischen Analysen fußt. Zu den noch nicht ausführlich publizierten Analysen der Stücke in Paris vgl. den Verweis auf die Untersuchungen V. Barbins bei Dridi 2011, 468 und den Verweis auf Analysen E. Fontans, die in Thuesen im Druck erscheinen sollen, bei Maaß 2004, 554-555.
- ⁵⁴ Bol/Junginger 2004, 159.
- ⁵⁵ Ähnlich schon bei Ferron 1966, 705. Zur Gruppe Ferron 1975.
- ⁵⁶ Bol/Frede 2005, 178-179; ausführlich Junginger in Bol/Junginger 2004.
- ⁵⁷ Zum Gestus vgl. Dermisch 1984, Kap. IV, bes. 113-114, 131; Maes 1989, 224; Nunn 2000, 80; Bénichou-Safar 2004, 101-102; Frede 2004 132-133; Michelau 2014, 92; Michelau in Vorb. ausführlich. Zum Schultertuch vgl. Lilliu 1944, 393; Hours-Miédan 1951, 63; Dridi 2006, 245; Moscati 1990, 69-71; Slim 2001, 71; Marín Ceballos/Jiménez Flores 2005, 1198-1199. Zu den Ohrringen vgl. Blanck 1982, 12; Hitzl 1991, 139; Dridi 2006, 245-246. Zur Bedeutung des Tuchs vgl. ausführlich Rönning im Druck.
- ⁵⁸ Zumeist werden die Figuren als Priester angesprochen, vgl. bspw. Cecchini 1981, 18; Bénichou-Safar 1982, 134; Moscati 1988b, 292; Slim 2001, 71; Frede 2004, 137; Maaß 2004, 482; Marín Ceballos/Jiménez Flores 2005, 1199. Diese Annahme ist allerdings nicht belegbar, vgl. ausführlich Rönning im Druck.
- ⁵⁹ Pallottino 1963, 25-28; Pallottino 1972-1973; Turfa 1974; 1977; 1986, 76-79, 81-84; Acquaro 1988; von Hase 1996; Camporeale 2004; Naso 2006; 2011; D'Oriano/Sanciu 2013, 239-241.
- ⁶⁰ Zum Import etruskischer Schwarzfirnisgefäße und Genuclia-Schalen vgl. Ferron 1966, 703-704; Turfa 1974, 90-91, 194; Morel 1990, 85-86 m. Abb. 22; Chelbi 1992, 19, 26, 33-34 Nr. 31-33; von Hase 1996, 188 m. Abb. 1-3; von Hase 2004, 78 m. Abb.; Naso 2006, 192; Michetti 2007, 327; Naso 2011, 78-79; Gran-Aymerich 2013b, 330 m. Anm. 64. Punische Importe in Etrurien sind neben den Sarkophagen rar; eine Zusammenstellung gibt Turfa 1974, 11, 14-44; Turfa 1977, 369. Zu ergänzen sind wenige neuere Funde aus Pyrgi, vgl. Michetti 2007, 330-331 Abb. 16-17, 19-20. Eine punische Terrakottamaske aus einem Grab in Spina wird als Zeichen für einen eingewanderten Punier gewertet, vgl. Michetti 2007, 326 Abb. 3. Zu 'unsichtbaren' Handelsgütern vgl. Turfa 1974, 183-184. Wenige Keramikimporte sind bei Gran Aymerich 1983, 77-79 Abb. 1 zusammengestellt. Sardinien als naheliegende Kontaktzone ist hier auf Grund des Verbreitungsgebiets der Sarkophage nicht direkt relevant.
- ⁶¹ Beides erschließen Bourdin/Crouzet 2009 aus karthagischen Inschriften.
- ⁶² Berges 1993, 255 Taf. 67, 4-6; von Hase 1996; Berges 1997, Kat. Nr. 461, 573, 641, 657, 658, 716; von Hase 2004, 76-79; Michetti 2007, 327; Bourdin/Crouzet 2009; Gran-Aymerich 2013a, 5; 2013b, 339-341; Gran-Aymerich/Turfa 2013, 393 m. Anm. 138. 400.
- ⁶³ Zum 'Holztruhentypus' in Etrurien vgl. Herbig 1952, 101-102; van der Meer 2004, 9-10; zur Entstehung aus Holzsarkophagen vgl. Weber-Lehmann 2007, bes. 141; zu Holzsarkophagen in Karthago Dridi 2004.
- ⁶⁴ Colonna 1967, 14; Romanelli 1986, 59; Gentili 2005, 651; Benelli 2014, 85-87; Steingräber 2014, 20.

- ⁶⁵ CIE 248-249 a-c. Die Existenz zweier gleichförmiger Aufschriften auf dem Deckel, von denen sich eine auf der Oberseite in der Nähe des Kopfes und die andere auf einer Schmalseite befand, könnte der Parallelbefund des 'Amazonensarkophages' in Florenz erklären: Laut Agostiniani 2007 wurde hier eine zweite Inschrift sekundär in eine Kastenwand eingeritzt, weil der ursprüngliche Text auf der Deckeloberseite mit kleineren Versturztücken und Staub von der durch das Raumklima brüchig gewordenen Decke bedeckt und somit nicht mehr lesbar war.
- ⁶⁶ In der aktuellen Aufstellung liegt der Deckel nicht plan auf, wohl auch damit die Inschrift zu sehen ist; das bedeutet allerdings nicht, dass Kasten und Deckel nicht zusammengehören, wie Fleischer 2004, 377-378 vermutete, denn auf Bottini/Setari 2007, Abb. 1 auf S. 81 ist zu erkennen, dass Kasten und Deckel aufeinanderpassen.
- ⁶⁷ Zum Import griechischer Marmorbildwerke nach Etrurien, v.a. in spätarchaischer Zeit, vgl. Andrén 1967; Corso 2010, Anm. 30. Die nackte Göttin aus der Canicella-Nekropole von Orvieto stand auf einem Altar des frühen 3. Jhs. v.Chr., vgl. Corso 2010, 559. Zu stark griechisch geprägter Plastik des Zeithorizonts der Sarkophage in Mittelitalien vgl. bspw. die Terrakottaplastik des Santuario dello Scasato in Falerii, s. Comella 1993, bes. 150-152.
- ⁶⁸ Zur begrenzten Beeinflussung jüngeretruskischer Sarkophagdeckelfiguren durch den 'Priestersarkophag' vgl. Meissner 2004, zur Beeinflussung der Profileisten etruskischer Sarkophagkästen durch karthagische Importstücke vgl. Goethert 1974, 238-239; Colonna/Colonna di Paolo 1978, 375-376 m. Anm. 3; Moretti 1983, 19 m. Anm. 3; 161; die interessante Frage der Beeinflussung jüngeretruskischer Sarkophagkästen durch die importierten karthagischen Stücke kann hier nicht ausführlicher behandelt werden. Zur Datierung des Einsetzens der Produktion der jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage vgl. van der Meer 2001, 79-81; 2004, 8-11.

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Demeter's Arrival at Eleusis on an Apulian Oinochoe kept in Foggia

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Abstract

This article offers an interpretation of the scene depicted on the body of an Apulian red-figured oinochoe, assigned to the Darius Painter, now kept in the storage of the Museo Civico of Foggia. This interpretation is based on the analysis of the iconographic language of the Apulian imagery as well as on the connexion in series of this scene with those appearing on contemporary vases produced in the same cultural community. This article is also accompanied by a set of previously unpublished colour pictures of the entire vase and of several details taken on site by the author.*

A fragmentary Apulian oinochoe (figs 1-20), kept in the Museo Civico at Foggia, offers a scene - assigned to the Darius Painter by Arthur D. Trendall - whose interpretation has remained uncertain since the finding of the vase, in June 1972, among the rich grave goods of a chamber tomb in one of the Daunian necropoleis of Arpi (fig. 21).¹ These grave goods were published a year later by Ettore De Juliis, in the *Atti del Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia* but he did not give any particular comment about the scene depicted on the oinochoe.² Trendall had the hunch that this scene has something to do with the myth of Demeter and Kore-Persephone but was not able to define which episode.³ In an article in 1983, K. Schauenburg used this vase as a parallel for its shape - a type 8 oinochoe - and for the vegetal decor on its neck, identical to those of the vase he studied in his article. However he gave no interpretation for the scene depicted on it. In note 44 of this article, he thanked De Juliis for having provided him with the pictures of this oinochoe. He also declared that De Juliis was preparing a comprehensive study of this vase.⁴ De Juliis did indeed publish this vase in 1992 but he still remained undecided regarding the interpretation of the scene. He quoted Trendall's first idea and also spoke of an 'ambientazione [...] dionisiaco-eleusina'.⁵ By comparing this scene with those appearing on other contemporary Apulian vases, I think that I have enough factors to suggest a convincing interpretation to this *hapax*.

The scene unfolds over two registers. On the left end of the higher register, Eos, nimbus-headed, drives a *biga* through a starry sky and brings the first gleams of a new day (fig. 5). This motif indicates the beginning of a new episode inside the

mythological temporality on which the divinity of dawn sheds her beams. Next we can see six Korybantes⁶ (figs 6-11). Because of the break in the middle of the upper register, one of them is only evident by his feet and the lower part of a pillar on which he must be leaning (fig. 7). Three of them are seated on vanished ground lines. Two of these seated Korybantes have left their shields on the ground (figs 6 and 10), the third one is casually holding his (fig. 8). A fourth Korybant, wearing a *pilos*, is leaning on what looks like a basin. He is about to drink some water that he has drawn with a *patera* (fig. 11). The last one, with his right leg lifted, is about to blow in the trumpet that he raises to his lips⁷ (fig. 9). Three other Korybantes appear on the lower register. One of them shows the same resting posture as his fellows from the upper register. He sits on a rocky pile on which he also lays down his spear (fig. 17). Behind him stands a half-vanished male character. He only wears a *chlamys* and high sandals (fig. 18). He may be another Korybant. Meanwhile, the last two Korybantes of the lower register are still running, fully equipped with their arms (figs 13 and 16, a). Each holds a torch. Although the white highlight has nearly vanished, the cross-bar on the top of one torch is still visible⁸ (fig. 16, b). The top of the other torch is lost within the break but it is very likely that this was also a cross-bar torch.

This peculiar attribute, endemic to South Italian iconography,⁹ appears in Demeter's hands on many pictures of the abduction of Kore or on those of the wanderings of the goddess following this abduction. On an Apulian *hydria* kept in New York (fig. 22),¹⁰ the goddess brandishes this cross-bar torch while the Korybantes chase Hades' chariot on foot. In a similar composition on an

Apulian *lekythos* once on the London art market (figs 23-24),¹¹ the cross-bar torch is to be found both in Demeter's and in one of the Korybantes' hands. In the upper register of the scene of an Apulian volute krater kept in Naples and assigned to the Darius Painter (fig. 25),¹² Demeter, about to begin her wanderings holding this attribute, has stepped into Helios' quadriga while, in the middle register, the Korybantes on horseback are about to chase Hades' chariot in the lower register. Demeter and Helios appear in the same quadriga, jumping over a boat,¹³ on the neck of another Apulian volute krater kept in Paris (fig. 26).¹⁴ This time, the cross-bar torch is in the hands of Hermes who guides the horses by holding the reins. The god of travelers bears the attribute symbolizing the wanderings of the goddess. The fully armed Korybant on the right end of the scene strengthens the identification of the mythical episode.

On all those vases, the Korybantes are always depicted running or ready to look for Demeter's daughter. The two running Korybantes on the lower register of the Foggia *oinochoe* are thus still searching for Kore. But the one seated on the rocky pile holds out a crown to his companions (fig. 17). This action could mean the end of the search, it crowns its success. All the other Korybantes are quiet, far from the hurry that puts them in motion on the images of the abduction of Kore and on those of the wanderings of Demeter. The Korybant with the trumpet takes the iconographic pose of the public speaker (fig. 9). He is about to declare the end of the search to his fellows - or perhaps he already has.

The centre of the lower register of the Foggia *oinochoe* should then present that which puts an end to the search. We see a *biga* drawn by felines on which stand a female character holding another cross-bar torch and a male character who seemingly drives the chariot (fig. 14). A second female character, with a scepter placed on her shoulder, faces the chariot (fig. 15). We could think of a depiction of the *anodos* of Kore-Persephone on a chariot, welcomed by Demeter, as it is shown on a *patera* kept in Chicago (fig. 27).¹⁵ Indeed, the cross-bar torch is also the attribute of Demeter's daughter when she assumes her Persephone-side.¹⁶ But on this *patera*, the chariot is a quadriga drawn by horses guided by Hermes.¹⁷ It is thus probably not an *anodos* of Kore-Persephone that is depicted on the Foggia *oinochoe*.

The feline-drawn *biga* belongs rather to Demeter as can be seen in the gigantomachy illustrated on the fragments on an Apulian krater, assigned to the Darius Painter, kept in Hamburg (figs 28-31).¹⁸ The

goddess holds a cross-bar torch with which she is throwing a giant to the ground.¹⁹ Once again, on the Foggia *oinochoe*, the female character standing on a feline-drawn *biga* and holding a cross-bar torch is then unlikely to be Kore-Persephone.

The female character welcoming the chariot is also unlikely to be Demeter. She is carrying a young child who stretches his arms toward the female character on the chariot (fig. 15). The Korybantes bearing cross-bar torches set the scene during the wanderings of Demeter and her search for Kore. The female character on the chariot holding this very torch must then be Demeter. In the abduction of Kore depicted on the Apulian volute krater kept in Berlin and assigned to the Darius Painter (fig. 32),²⁰ the feline-drawn *biga* is also to be seen and it looks like Demeter is about to step in it along with a Korybant. In my opinion, the Foggia *oinochoe* presents the same iconographic motif. While she is flying with Helios on the Naples' krater (fig. 25) and on the neck of the Paris' krater (fig. 26), Demeter is traveling on a feline-drawn *biga*, along with one of her Korybantes, on the Berlin krater and on the Foggia *oinochoe*.²¹ The light outfit - a *chlamys* - of the Korybant on the feline-drawn *biga* seems to contrast with his fully armed companions. However, on the Foggia *oinochoe*, the Korybant with the trumpet (fig. 9) and the one on the right end of the lower row (fig. 18) are also lightly dressed. Likewise, on the Berlin's krater (fig. 32), the Korybant with the bell, on the higher row, in front of the chariot, only wears a *chlamys*. Unfortunately the head of the Korybant on the feline-drawn *biga* on the Foggia *oinochoe* is lost because of the break (fig. 14). He might have been wearing an attribute allowing a certain identification.

But, as I previously demonstrated, the scene on this *oinochoe* rather seems to mark the end of the search. The key to understanding this picture is given by the female character carrying the child who gladly welcomes Demeter's arrival (fig. 15). This woman possesses a scepter which gives her royal dignity. In the myth of the abduction of Kore followed by the wanderings of Demeter, the only female character with such attributes is Metaneira, the queen of Eleusis who, in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, welcomes the goddess (then unrecognizable in the traits of the old Dôsô).²² The child must thus be her new-born son Demophon. In the *Hymn*, the latter remains disconsolate once bereaved of his divine nurse's care.²³ In the iconographic language, showing the child trying so hard to leave his own mother's arms to join those of his nurse-to-be translates the same attachment.

On an Apulian *pelike* kept in Kiel (figs 33-34),²⁴ the new-born Helen, whose egg has just hatched, is extending her arms with the same resoluteness to Leda, frightened by such a weird birth. This idea of attraction is strengthened by the Eros above.

Everything looks like the episode depicted on the Foggia *oinochoe* is Demeter's arrival at Eleusis. In some manner, the encounter between the goddess and the child brings an end to her wanderings. When she becomes his nurse, she devotes herself to making him immortal, in other words, she makes him some kind of substitute child to soothe her sorrow. Relating the subject depicted on this object to its funerary context, to represent the encounter between Demeter and Demophon is to recall the benevolence that a deity showed to a mortal and above all the design of immortalization that she had for him. This immortalization failed in Demophon's case but it must not be forgotten that, in the *Hymn*, Demeter reassures Metaneira about the fate and great destiny of her son.²⁵

The scene on the Foggia *oinochoe* takes place inside a sanctuary as is indicated by the *bucranium* and the garland hanging over the Korybantes on the higher register (figs 19-20). Behind one of the running Korybantes on the lower register, there is also a small structure, probably a fountain (fig. 12). It may allude to the *Parthenion* well of Eleusis cited in the *Hymn*, the place where Metaneira's daughters meet the old Dôso for the first time.²⁶

A comparable fountain appears on an Apulian volute krater kept in Princeton, also assigned to the Darius Painter.²⁷ There is a cross-bar torch plunged into it (fig. 36). On the other side of this krater, we see Medea, accompanied by her two sons, inside the sanctuary of Eleusis labeled ΕΛΕΥΣΙΣ · ΤΟ ΙΕΡΟΝ (fig. 35).²⁸ However, trying to link a text with a picture on each and every detail may be a difficult and even hazardous task. Those two fountains may not directly refer to the literary episode. Another example: in the *Hymn*, Demeter does not step into Helios's chariot, she only questions him about what he saw of the abduction of Kore.²⁹ But as demonstrated above, some iconographic versions of this myth present Helios' chariot as the vehicle used by Demeter during her wanderings. On the other hand, the nimbus-headed Eos on the Foggia *oinochoe* might recall the same character in the *Hymn* given that she imparts to the scene a temporal reference.³⁰

Other properly Eleusinian topics appear in Apulian iconography.³¹ Among them, the scene of an Apulian *hydria* kept in Berlin (figs 37-38)³² offers

an interesting parallel to the Foggia *oinochoe*. If the analysis given by Luca Giuliani is accurate, the picture on this *hydria* represents Demeter's stay at Eleusis where she receives offerings.³³ In the 'mythological chronology' narrated in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, this episode follows the goddess' arrival depicted on the Foggia *oinochoe*. On the Berlin's *hydria*, Demeter, wearing a *polos*, sits on a throne surrounded by a mostly feminine assembly. A woman kneels before her and offers her ears of wheat.

The other six young women on the lower register also bear the same kind of ears in their hands or in their hair. They are surrounded by *kistai*, *patera* and *kana*. All these objects belong to cultic scenes, regarding the present case, an offering of wheat to Demeter. In the *Homeric Hymn*, the goddess finally reveals herself in all her magnificence - but also in all her wrath - when she is interrupted by Metaneira while she is plunging Demophon into the flames to make him immortal.³⁴ 'And straightaway her knees buckled' narrates the *Hymn* concerning Metaneira.³⁵ Perhaps the Painter remembered this detail and took the initiative to show her kneeling in front of the goddess.

In the same passage, Demeter orders a temple to be built in Eleusis so that the Eleusinians worship her. Such a scene seems to take place on the Berlin's *hydria*. The six young women with the worship materials in the lower register could be Metaneira's daughters who also witness Demeter's *epiphaneia* in the *Hymn*. In the poem there are four of them, on the *hydria* there are six but this does not invalidate this identification. Is it necessary to recall that pictures are not illustrations of texts?

Two pairs of male characters surround Demeter and Metaneira. The right pair is formed by a pedagogue, a recurring character in Apulian imagery,³⁶ and a young man with a horse. This young horseman is a high-rank character and the fact that he is speaking with the pedagogue means that he is high-born. The myth narrated in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* gives the new-born Demophon as Metaneira's only son whose nurse is to be Demeter. He is thus unlikely to be this young man. In some later versions of the myth, Demophon does not appear anymore and Triptolemos, the Eleusinian hero par excellence, becomes the son of the royal couple.³⁷

If it is indeed Triptolemos on the Berlin's *hydria*, the chlamys and the high sandals that this character is wearing as well as his mount could allude to his forthcoming journey. The horse is rather a way to emphasize his aristocratic rank -

as well as the spear which might refer to the martial or cynegetic activities in which young nobles indulged in ancient societies. The two other male characters can also be seen as young aristocrats. Giuliani proposes to identify them as Eumolpos and Eubuleus.³⁸ The *Homeric Hymn* also cites Diocles, Polyxeinos, Dolichos and king Keleos among the Eleusinian aristocrats to whom Demeter entrusts her cult.³⁹ The names of these characters do not matter nor does the exact identity of the young women of the lower register. The picture on this vase evokes the cults by which the Eleusinians worship the goddess. It looks like this image is inspired by the tradition narrated within the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* that the Painter however 'reworked' with the iconographic language.

The upper register of the Berlin *hydria* (fig. 37) contains a divine assembly among which are seated Pan, Hermes, Poseidon, Aphrodite, Apollo and Artemis. These deities are talking with each other without paying attention to what is happening below them. They may evoke the Olympus that Demeter has just left by settling in Eleusis. I point out that Poseidon is beardless and sits in the centre of this divine row. Giuliani proposes to explain his presence by Eumolpos' hypothetical one in the middle register. Indeed, according to some traditions, Eumolpos is Poseidon's son.⁴⁰ The fact that this god is beardless - and thus younger from an iconographic point of view - might be a way to mark some kind of temporality. In the 'mythological chronology', the abduction of Kore and the wanderings of Demeter directly follow the sharing of the world between the Cronids.⁴¹ The 'young' Poseidon on the *hydria* would just have received his part of the world. Whatever it is there for, this detail must not be meaningless.

The significance of the picture on the Berlin *hydria* is really close to the one on the Foggia *oinochoe*. The goddess spreads her benevolence to mankind, this time by sharing the secrets of agriculture. If we look at these two pictures through an 'Eleusinian glass', the agrarian dimension of the Berlin *hydria* is completed by the eschatological aspect implied by the Foggia *oinochoe*.

In conclusion, connecting the scene depicted on the Foggia *oinochoe* in series with those appearing on contemporary vases coming from the same cultural context allows to recognize a subject linked to the Eleusinian cycle. All the components of the iconographic language that are used in this picture tend to identify the episode of Demeter's arrival in Eleusis. On one hand, the composition

alludes to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and, on the other hand, brings back the layouts and the motifs of other contemporary Apulian pictures which undeniably depict Eleusinian topics (abduction of Kore-Persephone, wanderings of Demeter, sanctuary of Eleusis).

The episode of the Eleusinian cycle depicted on the Foggia *oinochoe* - as well as those on the other vases to be associated with it from a thematic point of view - draw attention to the importance and the complexity of Demeter (and the beliefs surrounding her) in Southern Italy.

Finally, I once again draw attention to the fact that this picture was designed by a notable painter of Greek culture and was ordered by a member of the Daunian aristocracy to embellish his grave. This is very important because it gives evidence of a deep knowledge of the eschatological (even Eleusinian) beliefs of the cult of Demeter among the indigenous communities of Southern Italy which were strongly hellenized.

NOTES

* This article resumes some of the research that I initiated during my Master's thesis (presented in January 2015, at the University of Liège, supervised by Thomas Morard) on *The reception of the Eleusinian Iconography in South Italian Pottery*. I take the opportunity of this first footnote to deeply thank Francesca Silvestrelli, Italo Maria Muntoni, Luigi La Rocca and Riccardo Cappelli who allowed me to study this vase and to take photographs of it. I also would like to thank Claudine Paris, Emilie Motte and Jean MacIntosh Turfa for their help with the English translation of this article.

¹ Apulian red-figured type 8 *oinochoe* (h.: 57 cm, diam. lip: 40 cm, diam. max. body: 45 cm, diam. foot: 28 cm), Darius Painter (RVAp II, 494-495, 502/71), ca 340-320 BC, from Arpi (locality Arpinova), Foggia, Museo Civico, FG 6367: De Juliis 1973, 392-393, pl. 39, 1; De Juliis 1974, 520-521, pl. 90, b; Schauenburg 1983, 266, fig. 17.18a-17.18b; De Juliis 1992, 74-75, fig. 331-333; De Juliis 1996, 270, fig. 242.

² De Juliis 1973, 392-393, pl. 39, 1. The same report and the same images were published the year after in the *Studi Etruschi*: De Juliis 1974, 520-521, pl. 90, b.

³ RVAp II, 494-495.

⁴ Schauenburg 1983, 266, n. 44, fig. 17.18a-17.18b.

⁵ De Juliis 1992, 74-75, 105, fig. 331-333. That would not be incompatible given the 'Dionysiac touch' which affected Apulian imagery during the second half of the fourth century. A picture of this vase also appears, anecdotally, in De Juliis 1996, 270, fig. 242.

⁶ The Korybantes, these dancer-warriors, were originally connected with the deeds of Cybele, the Great Goddess of Phrygia. Cybele was associated with Demeter from the fifth century as can be read in Euripides, *Helen*, 1302-1320. The Korybantes then became attendants to Demeter. Cybele embodies Nature under its wild animal aspect (in the idea of the Eastern Πόντια Θηρών, 'Mistress of the Animals') whereas Demeter embodies its vegetal aspect. As Mother of Gods, Cybele was also associated with Rhea but Demeter shows this motherly

aspect too, particularly in the myth of the rape of Kore-Persephone. For further readings about the links between Demeter and Cybele, I recommend Borgeaud 1996, 39-45, 129-130, 161-163. The Korybantes were also associated with the Kouretes. Such a correlation from the Kouretes to the Korybantes is explained by Strabo, 10.3.19.

⁷ Following the idea of dancer-warriors, Korybantes are also musicians. They escort the goddess, screaming, clashing their shields, playing drum, cymbals and flute. This particularly noisy procession is described by Ovid, *Fasti* 4.179-190. A scholion on Nicander, *Theriaca*, 485a tells us about Demeter being affected by the grief of her daughter's loss and by the 'sound of cymbals' (τὸ δὲ Ἀχαιὴ Δημήτηρ ἡ διὰ τὸ ἄχος καὶ τὴν λύπην τῆς θυγατρὸς ἡ διὰ τὸν τῶν κυμβάλων ἦχον). These cymbals belong to the Korybantes escorting her wanderings. Pindar, *Isthmian* 7.3, already spoke of a Demeter 'with the sound of bronze cymbals' (χαλκόκυροτος) which might refer to her 'assimilation' with Cybele from the fifth century (cf. *supra*, previous footnote).

⁸ This detail did not escape Trendall (RVAp II, 502/71).

⁹ The main study relating to the cross-bar torch is the thesis of Leonhard 1974. However, since this publication, several objects bearing cross-bar torches have been found (among them the Foggia *oinochoe*) and essential compilations as those of Trendall have been published. Given its importance and significance in South Italian iconography, a new study concerning this motif would be welcome and precious.

¹⁰ Apulian red-figured *hydria*, Group of BM F 308 (RVAp I, 427/66), ca 350-330 BC, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1907.128.1: Schauenburg 1958, 58-59; Leonhard 1974, 139, T 5; Lindner 1984, 21-22, cat. 14, pl. 10; LIMC IV, 'Demeter' (Beschi), 871/316; Todisco 2012, vol. I, 175-176, vol. III, pl. 436, 1. Schauenburg 1983, 279, n. 44 compares this *hydria* with the Foggia *oinochoe*.

¹¹ Apulian red-figured *lekythos*, Underworld Painter (RVAp Suppl. I, 83/218a, pl. XVII, 1-2), ca 330-310 BC, once on the London art market: Lindner 1984, 27, cat. 18, pl. 8-9.

¹² Apulian red-figured volute krater, Darius Painter (RVAp II, 495-496/40, pl. 176.2), ca 340-320 BC, from Ruvo, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 81667: Heydemann 1872, 591-598, cat. 3256; Schauenburg 1958, 57; Leonhard 1974, 140, T 10; Moret 1975, cat. 100, pl. 81-82, 83.1; Lindner 1984, 20-21, cat. 13; LIMC IV, Demeter (Beschi), 871/313; Ællen 1994, 207, cat. 40, pl. 50-51, 214, cat. 96, pl. 117; Morard 2009, 179, cat. 34, pl. 27-28.

¹³ This peculiar motif certainly refers to the idea of a journey across the world and thus across the sea. The stars shining above the characters refer to the celestial aspect of this journey.

¹⁴ Apulian red-figured volute krater, Group of Taranto 7013 (RVAp II, 1023/39), ca 320-300 BC, Paris, Musée du Louvre, N 3512: LIMC IV, Demeter (Beschi), 882/459.

¹⁵ Apulian red-figured knob-handled *patera*, Baltimore Painter (RVAp Suppl. I, 158, 67b, pl. XXX, 3), ca 330-310 BC, Chicago, Art Institute, 1984.10: Schauenburg 1984, pl. 118, 1.

¹⁶ This can be seen on numerous Underworld scenes on Apulian vases. For instance, there are a volute krater kept in Kiel (Kunsthalle, B 585: RVAp Suppl. II, 351/A1; Schauenburg 1984, 361-362, pl. 100, 1-3; LIMC IV, Hades (Lindner), 385/124; Moret 1993, fig. 10, cat. 38; Schauenburg 1999-2010, vol. IX/X, 48, 165, fig. 114; Todisco 2012, vol. I,

284-286, vol. III, pl. 219, 4); a volute krater kept in Malibu (John Paul Getty Museum, 77.AE.13: RVAp II, 863/17, pl. 323, 3-4; RVAp Suppl. I, 182/A; Schauenburg 1984, 359, pl. 94, 1-2; LIMC IV, Hades (Lindner), 385, 125; Moret 1993, cat. 37); a volute krater kept in Matera (Museo Archeologico Nazionale Domenico Ridola, 164.510: RVAp Suppl. II, 351/A2; Schauenburg 1984, 368, pl. 113-115; LIMC IV, Hades (Lindner), 385/126; Moret 1993, cat. 39; Denoyelle/Iozzo 2009, 158, fig. 227); a volute krater kept in Munich (Antikensammlungen 3297: RVAp II, 533/282, pl. 194; Leonhard 1974, 140, T 11; Pensa 1977, 23-24, fig. 5; LIMC IV, Hades (Lindner), 385, 132; Moret 1993, cat. 17, fig. 5; Ællen 1994, 208, cat. 50, pl. 64-66; Denoyelle/Iozzo 2009, 152, fig. 220; Morard 2009, 153, n. 939; Todisco 2012, vol. I, 201-203, vol. III, pl. 171, 1); a volute krater kept in Naples (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 80854 (Stg 11): RVAp I, 424/54; Heydemann 1872, 629-631; Schauenburg 1958, 66, fig. 11; Leonhard 1974, 140, T 14; Pensa 1977, 25, pl. VII; Moret 1993, cat. 6; Ællen 1994, 205, cat. 27, pl. 32-33; Morard 2009, 150, n. 897; Todisco 2012, vol. I, 118-119, vol. III, pl. 122, 1-2); a volute krater kept in Naples (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 81666: RVAp I, 431/82, pl. 160.2; Heydemann 1872, 510-516, cat. 3222; Leonhard 1974, 140, T 13; Pensa 1977, 24, pl. I-IV; Moret 1993, cat. 8; Ællen 1994, 202, cat. 2, pl. 2-3; Schauenburg 1999-2010, vol. XIV, 15, 60, fig. 32 a-b; Todisco 2012, vol. I, 120, vol. III, pl. 123, 1); a volute krater kept in Ruvo (Museo Giovanni Jatta, 36819 (J 1094): RVAp I, 397/14, pl. 139.3; Sichtermann 1966, 33-34, cat. 36, pl. 52-54; Leonhard 1974, 140, T 8; Pensa 1977, 29, pl. XIII; LIMC IV, Hades (Lindner), 387/152; Moret 1993, cat. 4; Ællen 1994, 205, cat. 24, pl. 28-29; Morard 2009, 77, n. 466; Todisco 2012, vol. I, 107, vol. III, pl. 112, 4); a volute krater kept in Toledo (Museum of Art, 1994.19: RVAp Suppl. II, 508/41a1; Moret 1993, 295-300, fig. 1-2, cat. 10; LIMC Suppl., Hades (Pouzadoux), 236/11; Morard 2009, 125-126, pl. 115; Todisco 2012, vol. I, 198-192, vol. III, pl. 164, 3).

¹⁷ This iconographic version of the myth agrees with the literary version narrated in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, v. 375-378 in which we learn that Kore-Persephone comes back to the surface on Hades' quadriga drawn by horses and guided by Hermes. Pindar, *Olympian* 6.160-161 speaks of Hiero of Syracuse celebrating Demeter and her daughter 'with white horses' (ἀμφέπει Δάματρα λευκίππου τε θυγατρὸς ἑορτάν). According to a scholion on these verses (Drachmann 1969, 192/160a), Demeter looked for Kore after her abduction and brought her back to earth aboard a chariot drawn by white horses (ὅτι ἡ Δημήτηρ τὴν Κόρην εὗρε μετὰ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν καὶ λευκοὺς ἵππους ὑποξέυσα ἀνήγαγεν αὐτήν). The same scholiast (Drachmann 1969, 192/160c) tells us that after her abduction by Plouton, Kore met her mother again and was brought to Olympus, near her father, on a chariot drawn by white horses (λευκίππων δὲ εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ λέγεται μετὰ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ἡ Κόρη, ἣν ὑπέστη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλούτονος, εὗρεθεῖα λοιπὸν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς Δήμητρος, λευκοπῶλῳ ἄρματι ἀνῆχθαι εἰς τὸν Ὀλύμπιον πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τὸν Δία). Thus Kore's return to her mother, then among the Olympians, happened aboard a chariot drawn by white horses, as it can be seen on the Chicago *patera* (fig. 27).

¹⁸ Fragments of a Apulian red-figured volute krater, Darius Painter (Schauenburg 1999-2010, vol. IV/V, 52-55), ca 340-320 BC, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 2003.130: Schauenburg 1999-2010, vol. IV/V, 39-58, fig. 77-92 & XII-XIII (pictures in colour); Morard 2009, 43-44; LIMC Suppl., Gigantes (Ioannitis), 222/10.

- ¹⁹ I also draw attention to the fact that the cross-bar top of this torch has been depicted with a white highlight (fig. 31) exactly as the one of the Korymbant on the Foggia *oinochoe* (fig. 16, b). These two white highlights have nearly vanished.
- ²⁰ Apulian red-figured volute krater, Darius Painter (RVAp Suppl. II, 147/17b, pl. XXXV, 2), ca 340-320 BC, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1984.40: LIMC IV, Hades (Lindner), 381-382/85; Giuliani 1995, cat. 3, 33-37, 102-108, fig. 10, 12, 14, 16, 76; Todisco 2012, vol. I, 189-192, vol. III, pl. 163, 3. On this krater, one of the three Korymbantes has a bell hanging from his arm. This instrument may allude to the noisy procession constituted by these characters (cf. *supra*, n. 7).
- ²¹ Euripides, *Helen*, 1310 speaks of Demeter yoking wild beasts to her chariot (θηρῶν [...] ζυγίους). Moret 1975, 260-272; Morard 2009, 55-72; 2015 have demonstrated the importance of Euripides' work in the transmission of myths into Southern Italy. About the role played by Euripides for the comparison between Demeter and Cybele, one can refer to note 6.
- ²² v. 96-223. The main study related to this hymn is Richardson 1974. This epic poem has also been discussed by Rudhardt 1981, 227-244; Clinton 1992, 13-37, 96-99, Foley 1994 and Bowden 2010, 26-29, 46-47.
- ²³ v. 289-291: ἀγρόμεναι δὲ μὲν ἀμφὶς ἐλούεον ἀσπαίροντα ἀμφαγαπαζόμεναι · τοῦ δ' οὐ μελίσσετο θυμός · χειρότεροι γὰρ δὴ μὲν ἔχον τροφοὶ ἢ δὲ τιθῆναι: gathered around him, they bathed him, surrounding him with great care while he struggled. He did not calm down because the nurses holding him were of a lesser kind (author's translation).
- ²⁴ Apulian red-figured *pelike*, Painter of Athens 1680 (RVAp I, 243/137), ca 360-350 BC, Kiel, Antikensammlung, B 501: LIMC IV, Helene (Kahil), 503/6; RVAp Suppl. II-1, 54, 243/137. We can see a young boy showing the same posture, in the arms of a female character, on a fragment of an Apulian red-figured volute krater coming from Taranto (Arsenale Militare, 1913: D'Amicis 2014, pl. IV, 2). The son of Hector is trying to get to his father's arms showing to same posture on an Apulian red-figured volute krater kept in Berlin (Staatliche Museen, 1984.45: RVAp Suppl. II, 161, 18/283a; Allen 1994, 206, n. 36, pl. 45; Giuliani 1995, 43-45, 122-132, cat. 5, figs 80-83).
- ²⁵ v. 263-264: τιμὴ δ' ἄφθοιτος αἰὲν ἐπέσσειται οὐνεκα γούνων ἡμετέρων ἐπέβη καὶ ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσιν ἱανσεν: he will always enjoy everlasting honours because he climbed on our knees, because he slept in our arms (author's translation).
- ²⁶ v. 98-110. It is called Παρθένιον φρέαζ ('well of the maidens') in verse 99 whereas it is named Καλλίχορον ('well of the fine dances') in verse 272.
- ²⁷ Apulian red-figured volute krater, Darius Painter (RVAp Suppl. I, 78, 41a, pl. XII, 1-2), ca 340-320 BC, Princeton, University Art Museum, 1983.13: Trendall 1984, 5-17; Schmidt 1986, pl. 32.1; LIMC IV, Demeter (Beschi), 883/468; Morard 2009, 179, cat. 35, pl. 29; Todisco 2012, vol. I, 189-192, vol. III, 164, 1.
- ²⁸ The sole known depiction of this peculiar episode in Medea's deeds has been discussed by Moret 2004. On the other hand, Morard 2009, 114-116 demonstrates that this version of the myth could also appear on an Apulian red-figured *oinochoe* kept in Fiesole. Todisco 2012, vol. I, 176 does not consider Morard's observations and maintains the identification of the scenes as the return of Alcestis to Admetus. A personification of the Eleusinian sanctuary - also identified by an inscription - is shown on an Apulian red-figured *loutrophoros* kept in Malibu (John Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.680: RVAp Suppl. II, 180-181, 278-2, pl. XLVII, 2; Schauenburg 1989, 45-47, fig. 31-32; LIMC VI, Leda (Kahil), 233/17; Allen 1994, 212, cat. 85, pl. 101-104; Morard 2009, 184, cat. 49, pl. 40, 119; Todisco 2012, vol. I, 173-174, vol. III, pl. 154, 2).
- ²⁹ v. 62-89.
- ³⁰ v. 51: ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτῃ οἱ ἐπήλυθε φαινόλις Ἡώς: when, on the tenth day, appeared the resplendent Eos (author's translation).
- ³¹ This was the topic of my Master's thesis - see *-note. Aside the representations of the abduction of Kore and the wanderings of Demeter discussed above, we also find the departure of Triptolemos, perhaps the most Eleusinian topic there is. For other Eleusinian pictures, see note 28.
- ³² Apulian red-figured *hydria*, Varrese Painter (RVAp Suppl. II, 88/30d), ca 360-340 BC, from Canosa, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1984.46: LIMC IV, Demeter (Beschi), 879/420; Allen 1994, 183, n. 26; Giuliani 1995, 45-49, 132-138, cat. 6, fig. 29-32, 84-87; Morard 2009, 166, cat. 1, pl. 1. I also draw attention to the fact that this *hydria* belongs to the same grave goods as the krater that I discussed previously. This krater shows Demeter's feline-drawn *biga* in a scene of the abduction of Kore.
- ³³ Giuliani 1995, 132-138. Trendall had already come to this hypothesis but did not comment on this scene (RVAp Suppl. II, 88/30d).
- ³⁴ v. 268-280.
- ³⁵ v. 281: τῆς δ' αὐτίκα γούνατ' ἔλυντο.
- ³⁶ In Apulian iconography, the pedagogue (or the nurse, his female counterpart) is the wise old character who advises the other protagonists on what is happening in the picture (Morard 2009, 109-113).
- ³⁷ Pausanias, I.14.2-3 gives not less than five different traditions for Triptolemos' ascent, among which the Attic one which makes him the son of Keleos. By the Pseudo-Apollodorus, I.5.1-2, Triptolemos is the elder son of Keleos and Metaneira, and by Hyginus, *Fabula* 147, there is no more mention of Demophon. By Ovid, *Fasti* 4.550-560, Triptolemos is the one plunged into the flames by Demeter instead of Demophon.
- ³⁸ Giuliani 1995, 137-138.
- ³⁹ v. 153-156 & 473-477. The verse 474 introduces Diocles as a horse tamer (πλήξιππος).
- ⁴⁰ It is to be found by Pseudo-Apollodorus, 3.15.4.
- ⁴¹ Rudhardt 1981, 234-244 has demonstrated how Demeter's stay in Eleusis following the abduction of her daughter interferes in the completion of this shared task.

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*Figs 1-20. Apulian oinochoe Foggia FG 6367 (photos author).
Figs 1-4.*



*Figs 1-20. Apulian oinochoe Foggia FG 6367 (photos author).
Figs 5-7.*



*Figs 1-20. Apulian oinochoe Foggia FG 6367 (photos author).
Figs 8-9.*



*Figs 1-20. Apulian oinochoe Foggia FG 6367 (photos author).
Figs 10-13.*



*Figs 1-20. Apulian oinochoe Foggia FG 6367 (photos author).
Figs 14-15.*



*Figs 1-20. Apulian oinochoe Foggia FG 6367 (photos author).
Figs 16, a-b.*



*Figs 1-20. Apulian oinochoe Foggia FG 6367 (photos author).
Figs 17-19.*



*Figs 1-20. Apulian oinochoe Foggia FG 6367 (photos author).
Fig. 20.*



Fig. 21. A selection of the vases from the grave goods of the chamber tomb in Arpi (locality Arpinova). In the middle, the oinochoe now kept in Foggia (De Juliis 1973, pl. 39, 1).

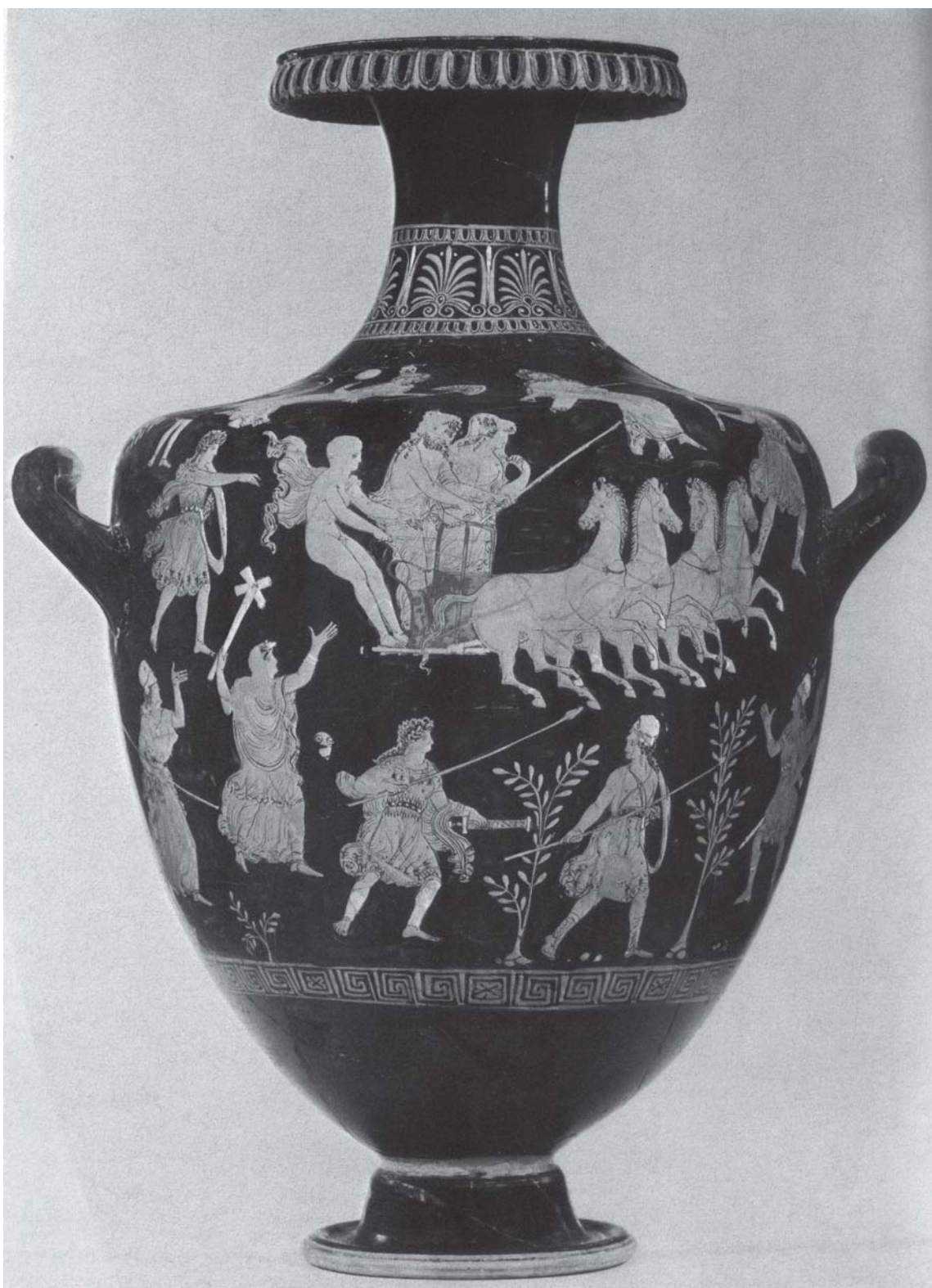
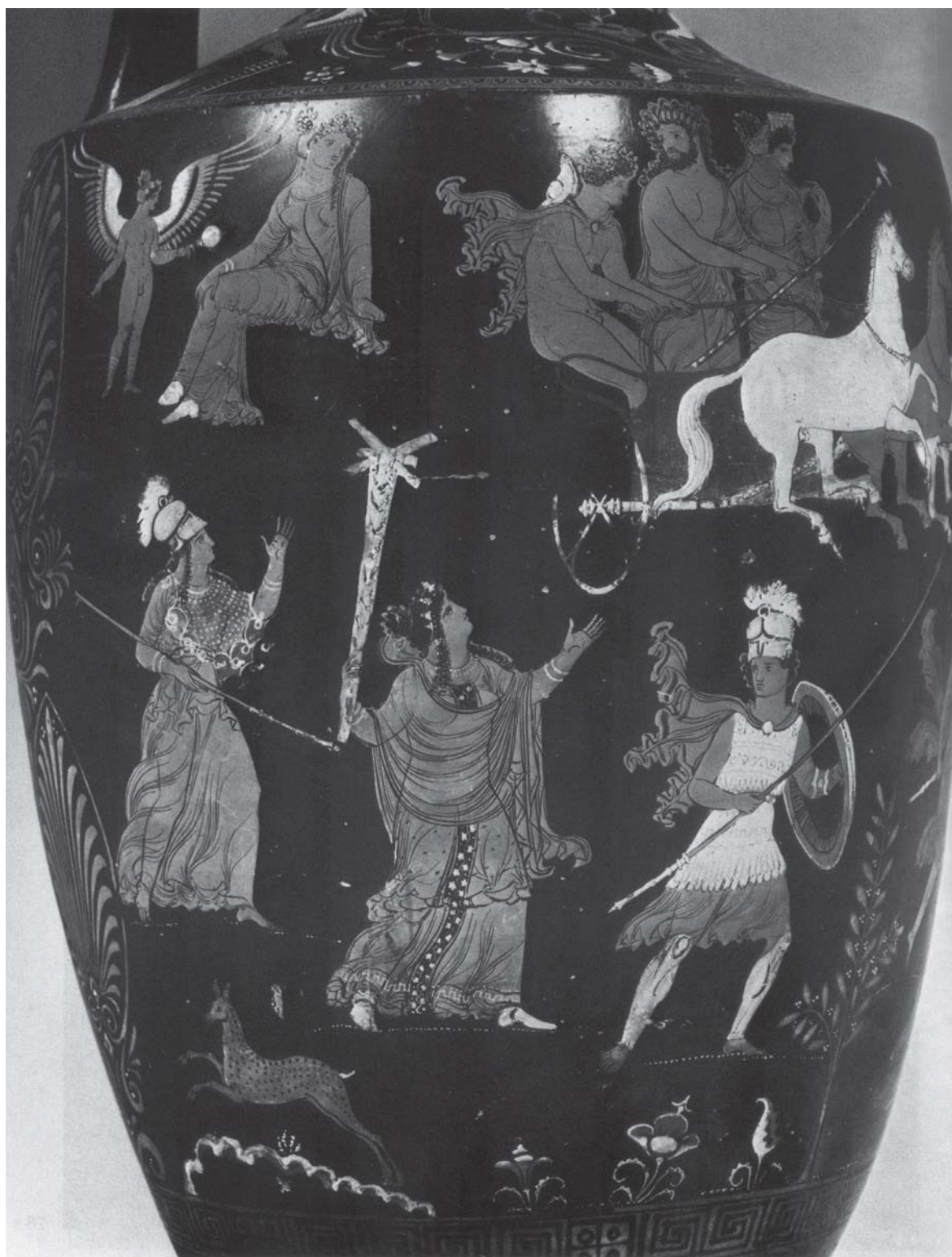


Fig. 22. Apulian hydria New York 1907.128.1 (Lindner 1984, pl. 10).



Figs. 23. Detail of the body of the Apulian lekythos once on the art market in London (Lindner 1984, pl. 8).



Fig. 24. Detail of the body of the Apulian lekythos once on the art market in London (Lindner 1984, pl. 9).



Fig. 25. Apulian volute krater Naples 81667 (Morard 2009, pl. 28).



Fig. 26. Detail of the neck of the Apulian volute krater Paris N 3512 (LIMC IV.2, 597/459).



Fig. 27. Apulian knob-handled patera Chicago 1984.10 (© Art Institute Chicago).

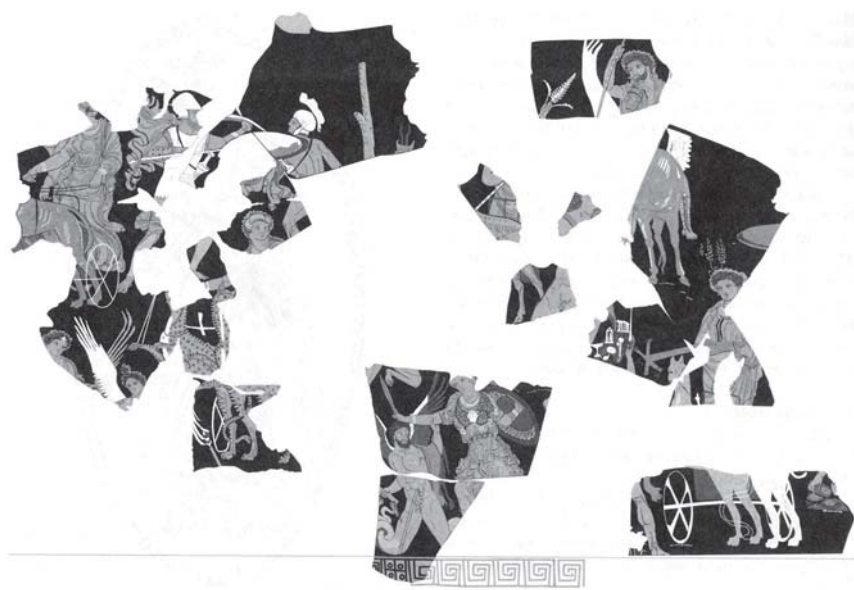
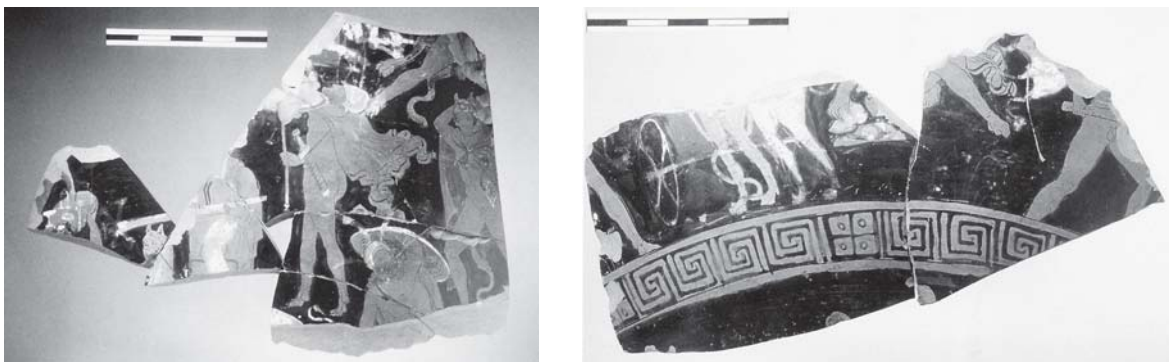


Fig. 28. Drawing of the fragments of the Apulian volute krater Hamburg 2003.130 (LIMC Suppl., Gigantes (Ioannitis), 222/add. 10).



Figs 29-30. Some fragments of the Apulian volute krater Hamburg 2003.130 (Schauenburg 1999-2010, vol. IV/V, 162, fig. 81a & 81c).

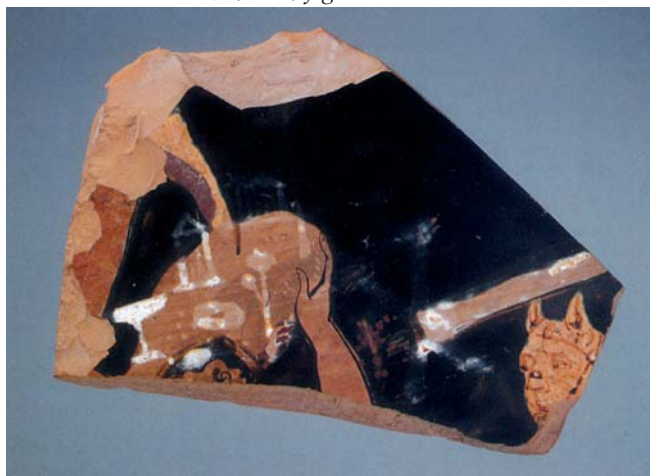
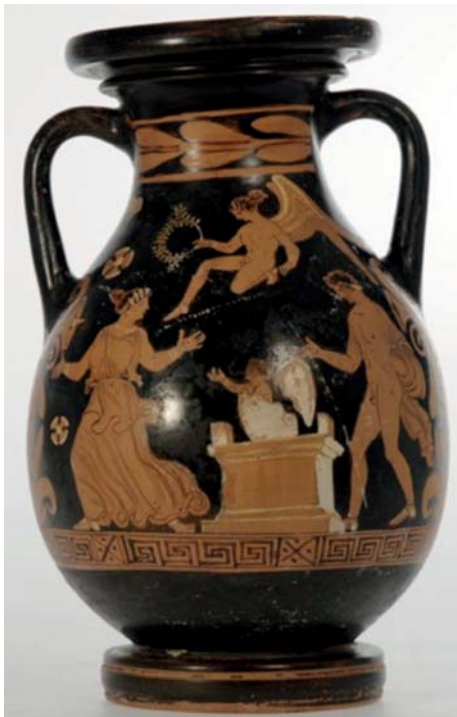


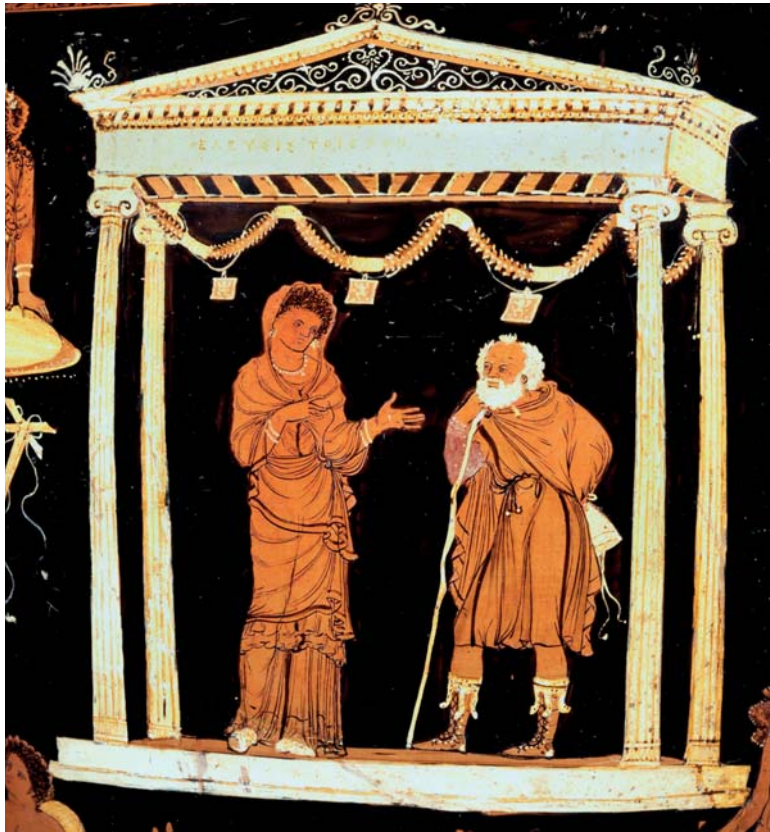
Fig. 31. A fragment of the Apulian volute krater Hamburg 2003.130 (Schauenburg 1999-2010, vol. IV/V, 222, fig. XIII).



Fig. 32. Detail of the body of the Apulian volute krater Berlin 1984.40 (photo author).



Figs 33-34. Apulian pelike Kiel B 501 (© Antikensammlung Kiel).



Figs 35-36. Details of the two sides of the Apulian volute krater Princeton 1983.13
(© University Art Museum of Princeton).



Figs 37-38. Details of the body and shoulder of the Apulian hydria Berlin 1984.46 (photos author).

Mutnuc, Hercle with assistant, and Lasa on an Etruscan bronze mirror

L. Bouke van der Meer

Abstract

*This article addresses a scene on a mirror from Caere, now in Berlin, as the prelude to the apotheosis of Herakles. It suggests that the otherwise unknown inscribed name Mutnuc derives from the Latin Mutinus, the name of a phallic deity who is rendered here as Pan. Herakles's position between Mutnuc and a Siren, and the presence of one or two thunderbolt symbols suggest that he is on his journey to Olympos.**

An Etruscan bronze handle-mirror in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, inventory number Fr. 128a (Misc. 3286), was found in Caere, present day Cerveteri, in or before 1859.¹ Its height is 22.4 cm and its diameter 11.8 cm (fig. 1). It should be dated to the last decades of the fourth and beginning of the third century BC because of the context and style of similar mirrors.² The engraved, principal image on the reverse is encircled by a spiky-leafed garland that above and below is bound with a casing.³ The upper casing shows a chevron pattern bound at either end, the lower a unique stylized thunderbolt. The inscriptions on

the raised border read from left to right (figs 2-3): *mutnuc, hercle, [---], lasa*. The damaged part of the inscription [---] seems to show the letters *c?t??eltnei?* It probably contains the female *nomen gentilicium* of the mirror owner.⁴ In the centre Hercle (the Greek Herakles) steps forward. His *Kreuzschritt* (cross step) is known among others from the paintings of the François Tomb at Vulci that are dated between 340 and 310 BC. He is swinging his club with his right hand raised behind his head; he wears a fillet and leans on a youth, probably his friend and nephew, Iolaos who is called Vilae or Vile in Etruscan.⁵ Drapery falls



Fig. 1. Bronze handle mirror from Cerveteri, reverse (courtesy of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Antikensammlung, Inv. nr: Fr. 128 a (Misc. 3286); photo Johannes Laurentius).



Fig. 2. Bronze handle mirror from Cerveteri, detail (courtesy of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Antikensammlung, Inv. nr: Fr. 128 a (Misc. 3286); photo Johannes Laurentius).

down from around the latter's shoulders and from his left hand. The scheme is influenced by such scenes, among others, as the drunken Dionysos supported by a satyr,⁶ or the drunken Hephaistos supported by Dionysos on his return to Olympos.⁷ To the left, in a frontal position, a bearded man with goat legs, named *Mutnuc* blows the syrnix, the characteristic pipes of the Greek deity Pan. A strip binds and hides his glans penis like the *kunodesme* (dog-tie) of Greek and Etruscan athletes. Between him and Hercle a cross-like or perhaps thunderbolt-like element is visible. To the right a female *Lasa* appears in the guise of a scaly, plumed, bird-bodied entity. A himation covers her legs. Her long, thin, left wing is pressed against her body. She is leaning against a rock while turning toward Hercle. She has a slippered human foot instead of a bird's talon and wears a diadem. Usually, mirrors illustrating *Lasa* depict her as a minor female or male deity belonging to the circle of Turan (Aphrodite), either nude or dressed with or without two wings.⁸ Her bird-like body, the position of her wing, and her leaning against a rock on the mirror, however, suggest that she is a Siren.⁹ If such is the case, the inscription *Lasa* replaces the Greek name *Seirene*. Although the mirror is mentioned in the *LIMC* four times,¹⁰ there has been no satisfactory explanation of the scene.

The name *Mutnuc* is without parallel in Etruscan epigraphy. The stem is *mutn-* and the suffix *-uc* or *-vc* that is also present in the words *eisneuc*, *ep̄rthnevc*, *macstrevc*, *marunuc*, *mulauc*, all titles of magistracies, preceded or followed by a verb *ten-*

(to hold, exercise).¹¹ The words *marunuc* or *marunuch* derive from **marun* (cf. Umbrian/Latin *maro*, gen. *maronis* (a building official). *Munthuch*, the name of an assistant of Turan, a cosmetic deity, derives from **munth* (cf. the Latin *mundus* (substantive: cosmos; adjective: tasteful)).¹² It seems that *-uc* and *-uch* are adjectives like *-ac* and *-ach* (cf. *cemnac* and *cemnach*; **zilac* and **zilach* (the title of the chief magistracy); *rumach* (Roman; from Rome).¹³ In theory, the stem *mutn-* could be related to *mutana* or *mutna* which means sarcophagus or coffin. However, the adjective of *mutna* would be **mutnauc* or **mutnana*. In view of his male appearance, it is more likely that *mutnuc* derives from the Latin *Mutinus*, also known as *Mutinus Tutinus*, a minor Roman Priapic deity.¹⁴ The Etruscan *mutn-* probably derives from the syncopated form of the Latin stem *mutin-*, which in turn probably derives from *muto*, penis.¹⁵ Thus, *Mutinus* may be translated as 'The Phallic One.' As the image of *Mutnuc* derives from Pan, but his name from *Mutinus*, this combination of image and inscription may be explained by the fact that Pan and Priapus are usually depicted with erect penises. The figure of *Mutinus*, however, has never been represented in Roman art.

Now the question arises: why are Hercle and his assistant moving forward between *Mutnuc* (*Mutinus*/Pan) and a Siren-like *Lasa*? The combination of Pan and a Siren reminds us of the cosmic program of the underside of the Bronze Lamp of Cortona (ca 330-300 BC; fig. 4),¹⁶ which shows the head of Medusa in the centre (a refer-



Fig. 3. Bronze handle mirror from Cerveteri, reverse (courtesy of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Antikensammlung, Inv. Nr: 128a (Misc. 3286); drawing: Ingrid Peckskamp).

ence to the underworld), surrounded by a frieze of four groups of three fighting animals referring to earth, life and death, within a circle of waves with eight dolphins, which is a reference to the sea and possibly to the journey to the afterlife, in turn, surrounded by a frieze of eight frontally represented Sirens who alternate with eight seated, frontal, ithyphallic Silens, four of whom blow a syrinx (like Pans) and four, a double *aulos*, under sixteen oil nozzles. Sixteen protomes of the father of the Sirens, Acheloös, are visible between the



Fig. 4. The Bronze Lamp of Cortona. Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca e della Città di Cortona (courtesy of the Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana, Florence).

nozzles. As for the eight Sirens, Plato (*Rep.*10.617b) writes:

A Siren is sitting on each of the [eight] spheres, rotating with it and each giving one single sound in one tone. These form, all eight together, one simple harmony.

Therefore, the latter frieze probably refers to Olympos/heaven. The Silens and Pans are added as companions to the Sirens to illustrate the harmony of the spheres. The comparison between the mirror and the lamp may imply that Hercle is on his journey to Olympos. He is probably supported by his friend Iolaos due to the wound inflicted by Deianeira's poisonous arrow at the end of his life.¹⁷ Diodorus Siculus (4.38) reports:

As Herakles continued to suffer more and more from his malady he dispatched Likymnios and Iolaos to Delphi to inquire of Apollo what he must do to heal the malady, but Deianeira was so stricken by the magnitude of Herakles' misfortune that, being conscious of her error, she ended her life by hanging herself. The god gave the reply that Herakles should be taken, and with him his armour and weapons of war, unto Oitè and that they should

build a huge pyre near him; what remained to be done, he said, would rest with Zeus. Now when Iolaos had carried out these orders and had withdrawn to a distance to see what would take place, Herakles, having abandoned hope for himself, ascended the pyre and asked each one who came up to him to put torch to the pyre. And when no one had the courage to obey him Philoktetes alone was prevailed upon; and he, having received in return for his compliance the gift of the bow and arrows of Herakles, lighted the pyre. And immediately lightning also fell from the heavens and the pyre was wholly consumed. After this, when the companions of Iolaos came to gather up the bones of Herakles and found not a single bone anywhere, they assumed that, in accordance with the words of the oracle, he had passed from among men into the company of the gods (translation by C.H. Oldfather (1933), Loeb Classical Library).

The - unique - thunderbolt in the lower casing, and perhaps that of the odd symbol in the image field, probably refer to Zeus's lightning as an anticipatory reference to Hercle's apotheosis.¹⁸ Such proleptic elements also are visible on other mirrors; as for example Marsyas labelled as Achsun (from Greek *askon*, accusative of *askos*, a leather wineskin) before he is changed into a wineskin.¹⁹ Hercle is the most frequent main character on epigraphic mirrors. Already around 450 BC he is called *calanice* (from the Greek *kallinikos*, beautiful victor) because of his victories. The preference for the particular elements in the scene on the Berlin mirror may perhaps then be attributed to the association of such with his triumphant, musical and soteric nature. The most interesting detail of the scene, however, is Mutnuc, borrowed from Roman religion but represented as the Greek Pan.

NOTES

* My thanks are due to Shirley J. Schwarz for her comments.

1 Gerhard 1845, pl. 150 (drawing without inscriptions); 1863, 140-141.

2 For contexts of mirrors with a spiky garland decoration, see *CIE* III, 2, no 10688, pl. 15 and no 10844, pl. 36 (van der Meer 1995, 76-78, fig. 30).

3 The mirrors of the Spiky Garland Group (*Kranzspiegelgruppe*) are not a homogeneous group as has been shown by Emmanuel-Rebuffat 1984, Szilágyi 1995, 45-48 and De Puma 2013, 1049-1050. In addition, the diameters of the mirror disks vary from 111 to 176 mm. Colonna's (1985, 129-131) localization of the successive production centres of the presumed group in Volsinii

veteres and novi (Orvieto and Bolsena) is therefore questionable. In addition, mirror makers and engravers could easily move and transport stone moulds and models from one place to another. For themes and drawings of other mirrors with a spiky garland decoration see Wiman 1990, 192-199, figs 12.2:13-12.2:24; van der Meer 1995, 228-235, figs 21, 30, 44, 51, 54, 55, 104, 107-108.

4 For a male *nomen gentilicium* between mythological names, see a mirror with a spiky garland decoration in Stockholm (Colonna 1985, 181 fig. 24; van der Meer 1995, 25, no 17) and inscription on its border reading: *ziiumithe* (Diomedes), *alathna*, *uthste* (Odysseus). For a female *nomen gentilicium* ending on [...] *eltnei*, compare *ET Vt* 1.112: *veltnei*.

5 Gerhard 1863, 140-141 holds that the supporting young man is a satyr. However, his visible ear is not pointed like that of a satyr.

6 An Etruscan bronze mirror cover (London, BM; De Grummond 2006, 115, fig. VI.2), dated to ca 325-275 BC, shows the drunken Fufluns making a *Kreuzschritt*, supported by a winged boy in the company of a lyre playing woman at the right.

7 Cf. a mirror from Chiusi, now in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. Fr. 51 (Gerhard 1845, pl. 90; De Grummond 2006, 135, fig. VI.29; *ET Cl S.* 13), dated to ca. 325-275 BC, showing the return of the drunken Fufluns to the Olympus: [*se*] *thlans* (Hephaistos) puts his arm around the shoulder of *fuflun[s]* (Dionysos); both are walking, making a *Kreuzschritt* between protective gods, *maris* and *laran*. The inscriptions, here too, are on the border.

8 Rallo 1974.

9 Already Gerhard (1863, 141) identifies the winged woman as a Siren, but interprets the scene as Herakles in a Bacchic procession.

10 S.J. Schwarz 1990, Herakles/Hercle, *LIMC* V, 236, no 373; R. Lambrechts, Lasa, *LIMC* VI, 219, no 12; Munthuch, ibidem, 688-689, no 4.; J. Boardman 1997, Pan, *LIMC* VIII, 939, no 284. Lambrechts mistakenly interprets Mutnuc as Munthuch. Schwarz tentatively and Boardman mistakenly identify Lasa as a maenad.

11 Maggiani 1996.

12 Van der Meer 1995, 187-189, fig. 89; 201-203, fig. 96.

13 For the comparable suffixes on *-uc(h)* and *-ac(h)*, see Maggiani 1996, 112-113.

14 Aug. *Civ.* 4.11: *ipse* (sc. *Juppiter*) *sit Mutunus vel Tutunus, qui est apud Graecos Priapus*. Augustine probably drew on Varro. For the other literary testimonies of Mutinus Titinus/Mutunus Tutunus, see Vahlert 1933, Radke 1965, 225-226, Palmer 1974, Phillips 2006, and Lhomme 2009.

15 For the etymology of *mutu*, see De Vaan 2008, 398.

16 Van der Meer 2014.

17 Schwarz (see note 10), however, suggests that Hercle is drunken. If so, it does not explain the presence of the Siren.

18 For Hercle on a burning pyre in the inferior exergues of two mirrors from Todi, both dated to ca 300 BC, see van der Meer 1995, 152-154, figs 70-71, 252 (cat. 15.2.1-2).

19 Van der Meer 1995, 40, 45, 148 figs 68, 150, 171, 180, 220, 241.

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Investigating ancient Halos

Marking forty years of archaeological research on a city in Thessaly

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Abstract

Halos, a city of Achaia Phthiotis in Thessaly, has been the subject of continuous archaeological research by the University of Groningen since 1976. The Halos Archaeological Project celebrated its fortieth anniversary in 2016. In this article we take the opportunity to look back on the earliest research in the area, and provide an overview of how the fieldwork has refined our knowledge of the ancient town over the past forty years, and what questions still remain.¹

Halos was a city of Achaia Phthiotis, the southern part of ancient Thessaly. Its remains are situated in the fertile coastal plain of Almirós, on a narrow stretch of flat land between a spur of the Óthris mountain range and a salt marsh along the Pagasitic Gulf (figs 1-2). It served as the main harbour for the other settlements in the plain. Since 1976 the site has been the subject of investigation by the Groningen Institute of Archaeology, under direction of Reinder Reinders. From 1990 the University of Groningen has worked in collaboration with the Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesía, and from 2011 with the University of Amsterdam.²

This article aims not only at providing an updated overview of these forty years of research into the sites that together encompass Halos, but also to present the results and preoccupations of earlier investigations in the area, during which the foundational work for the study of the sites was done. In doing so, it will try to elucidate that in the course of the past two centuries, views of Halos and the methodology of its excavation were shaped by contemporary concerns and re-valuations of the various types of available source material (textual, epigraphic, and archaeological) at our disposal. An issue of central importance in the current and



Fig. 1. The lower town of New Halos, situated in the yellow corn fields, blocks the passageway between a spur of the Óthris Mountains and the estuarine area (photo Reinder Reinders).

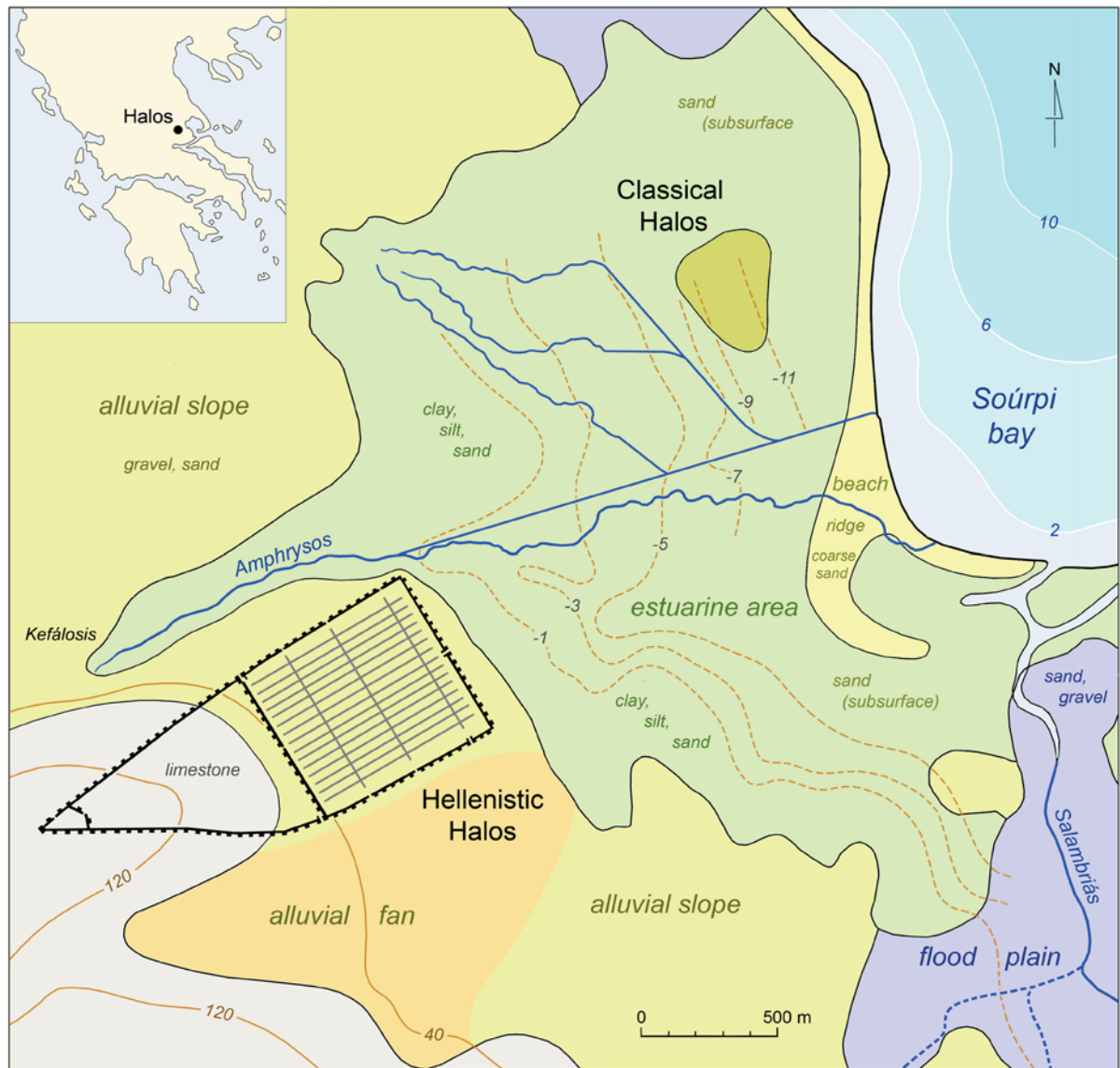


Fig. 2. Landscape zones at the transition of the Almirós and Sóurpi Plains; Classical Halos is located at Magoúla Plataniótiki and Hellenistic Halos to the south of Kefálosis spring (drawing Reinder Reinders).

future study of Halos which will also be discussed is the observation (starting with Johan Louis Ussing in 1857) that there existed two distinct phases of the city, an 'Old' and a 'New' Halos, which have since been variously located and interpreted. We end by briefly describing the most recent fieldwork and current research questions.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF HALOS

It seems that Halos never played a major role in the history of Thessaly, as there is a relative lack of

historical sources about the town. Nevertheless, the town already features in the Catalogue of Ships in Homer's *Iliad*.³ Here Alos (the manuscripts have an unaspirated alpha) appears as one of a few cities in southern Thessaly which sent fifty ships to Troy. Those sailing on these ships were called Myrmidons, Hellenes and Achaeans, and were led by no other than Achilles, the protagonist of the *Iliad*, himself. Halos may therefore be seen as part of Achilles' kingdom.

Perhaps surprisingly, however, the city's relation to Achilles was not its primary claim to mythologi-

cal fame. Rather, the city prided itself on being known as the native city of Phrixos and Helle, both children of king Athamas, the mythical founder of Halos.⁴ The siblings fled from Halos to Colchis on the ram that would later become the Golden Fleece, the quest for which is the main narrative in the Argonaut sagas. The earliest attestation of the myth and its relation to Halos is found in Herodotus' *Histories*.⁵ Herodotus describes Persian king Xerxes' visit to the city's temple of Zeus Laphystios ('the Devourer'). This sanctuary, which, as we will see, fascinated early scholars and excavators of Halos, was the site of a ritual in which the myth of Athamas and his children was commemorated.⁶

This myth was of prime importance to the identity of the people of Halos, which is clear from its use in the numismatic iconography: on the obverse of the coins struck by Halos the head of Zeus is depicted, and on the reverse Phrixos or Helle, depending on the issue, are shown seated on the ram of the Golden Fleece (fig. 3).⁷ It furthermore seems that the agricultural plain near Halos, around modern Almirós, was later known as the Athamantian plain, named after king Athamas.⁸ An inscription uncovered at Halos in 1999, containing a long list of Thessalian ancestors, also suggests a preoccupation of the Halians with their mythological past.⁹

The destruction of Halos is described by Demosthenes, who notes that the city was besieged in 346 BCE by the Macedonian general Parmenion.¹⁰ 'After it had been wiped out', Halos' territory was ceded to Pharsalos (ἀφανισθεῖσαν δὲ συνῶκισαν Φαρσάλιοι).¹¹ However, it remains unclear what this entailed. Did all habitation in the area that defined Halos cease, as suggested by use of the verb ἀφανίζω? Did some remaining

inhabitants move to Pharsalos, which the verb συνοικίζω could indicate? Or did the situation near the Athamantian plain remain relatively unchanged, perhaps even with a settlement with the name 'Halos' remaining in existence, even though it now fell under the polis Pharsalos? Part of a possible answer comes from Diodorus Siculus, who does not mention Halos in his description of Demetrios' venture along the Pagasitic Gulf in 302 BCE, which may suggest that there was no city of importance there at that time.¹² In any case, apart from various geographic references to Halos, no other information about the nature of Halos as a settlement appears in ancient literature.

Epigraphic evidence, however, adds to our knowledge of the civic unit Halos in the Hellenistic period. A decree originating in Halos extends the honour of *proxenia* to a citizen of Larisa.¹³ Its date of 183-182 BCE is firmly established, as the common eponymous *strategos* of the Thessalians named in it can be linked to a contemporary inscription from Lamia.¹⁴ The inscription states that it was issued by the polis and council of Halos (ἡ πόλις ἡ Ἀλέω[ν] / [καὶ ἡ] βουλὰ, ll.2-3), which certainly suggests that Halos existed as a polis at this point, and was a politically active member of the Thessalian *koinon* around the time when Rome was consolidating its grip on the Greek mainland.¹⁵

Another inscription, an arbitration decree found in Delphi, corroborates this notion. Dating to 145 BCE, it records the outcome of a territorial dispute between Halos and Thebai Phthiotides over a certain sacred plot of land (ιεῤῥας χώρας, l.29), the character of which remains unknown. It seems that the arbitrator, someone named Makon from nearby Larisa, ruled that the sacred land should be shared by Thebai and Halos in a peaceful fashion.¹⁶ Here, too, we see Halos as a polis which actively participated in regional politics. How exactly this instance of the city relates to the story of siege and destruction in Demosthenes remains, however, obscure. Since neither of the inscriptions were found *in situ*,¹⁷ it was furthermore from the outset unclear to which physical remains of the city they belong.

In conclusion, the available historiographical and documentary sources raise intriguing questions about the exact nature of the civic unit Halos over the course of history. Literary evidence suggests that the polis ceased to exist after 346 BCE, but the epigraphic evidence indicates a more complex development, in which Halos knew a second existence - or continued to exist - as polis in the later Hellenistic era and possibly beyond, acting as such on both local and regional levels.



Fig. 3. Bronze coin issued by the city of Halos in Hellenistic times; scale 3:2. Zeus Laphystios is depicted on the obverse and Phrixos, clinging to a ram, on the reverse (Nomos 2011 = *Coins of Thessaly*, the BCD collection. Nomos auction catalogue 4, Zürich).

It was on the basis of the literary sources alone that the initial attempts to link the name Halos to a physical location were undertaken. Only in the gradual uncovering of parts of the city's remains did the true complexity of its development become clear - but not without several instances of misinterpretation of the remains found in several places. This gradual development of our knowledge about the location(s) of Halos from the 18th century up until the present day is the subject of the remainder of this article.

A HISTORY OF EARLY RESEARCH ON HALOS

Early identification of the site

During the 18th century an important first step was taken in the research into ancient Thessaly by scholars who aimed at mapping ancient rivers, mountains, and cities. The geographers based their maps on classical authors, who often mention distinctive landscape features and distances, in many cases allowing an accurate location of the ancient sites. The most important sources that led to the initial identification of the exact area where we now believe Halos was situated, were Homer's Catalogue of Ships and the geographer Strabo.

Homer mentions Halos in the context of several regions and cities now associated with Southern Thessaly and more particularly Achaia Phthiotis (Pelasgian Argos, Alopē, Trēchis, Phthia, and Hel-las). Herodotus furthermore describes Halos as a coastal city, where the Greeks disembarked from their ships to continue on foot to the Vale of Tempe in order to prevent the Persians from advancing into Thessaly.¹⁸ A similar image rises from Demosthenes, who recounts that an Athenian delegation to Pella was able to reach Halos overseas while the city was besieged.¹⁹

The city's whereabouts apparently already presented a problematic issue in the 1st century CE, as Strabo mentions that the historians of his day speculated that Homer's Halos was situated in Lokris, an area much further south.²⁰ Strabo disagreed. His description of Phthiotic Halos is the most informative as to its location: it was sixty stadia distant from Itonos, one hundred stadia from Thebai, midway between Pharsalos and Phthia. It lay on the northern extremity of Mount Óthris, above the Krokian plain (ὑπέγκειται δὲ τοῦ Κροκίου πεδίου). The river Amphrysos flowed close to the walls of the city. Like Herodotus and Demosthenes before him, Strabo also suggested that Halos was situated on the coast, at 110 stadia

from Pteleon in the direction of the Peneios river. When Strabo mentions Halos again in the list of notable sites in this area, Halos appears after Pteleon; the next point of reference is Pyrasos and its temple of Demeter.²¹

It is clear from the texts that Halos was located in Thessaly, in the southern part of the plain dominated by the modern city of Almirós, on the west coast of the Pagasitic Gulf (the modern Gulf of Volos). The very first efforts to locate Halos and the nearby Amphrysos river were mostly correct. The 1762 map *Graeciae Antiquae Specimen Geographi-cum* by Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville accurately locates the cities of Lamia, Phalara, and Larisa Kremaste along the shore of the Maliac Gulf.²² The location of Pteleos along the Pagasitic Gulf is likewise correct. The placement of Halos to the south of the river Amphrysos is accurate, but is too far from the coast. D'Anville, misinterpreting Strabo's comments, located Thebai and nearby Pyrasos to the south of the Amphrysos, while they were in fact situated in the northern part of the Krokian Plain.

On a map of ancient sites in Magnisiá dating to 1814, the local geographer Anthimos Gazis correctly located Halos near the city of Almirós and the villages of Plátanos and Soúrpi.²³ It is clear that he based his maps not solely on the written sources, but also on his local knowledge, and he seems to have been aware of the presence of archaeological remains at this location.

During the 19th century, scholars travelled from Western Europe to visit the ancient sites of Greece. Their main objectives were to map circuit walls of ancient cities, conduct small excavations, and retrieve inscriptions. Some of these scholars focused on the region of Almirós, which at that time was still a relatively unexplored area, as compared to Attica and the Peloponnese.

William Gell, a British archaeologist and illustrator, was one of the earliest scholars who described the area. At this time the Ottoman Empire was already in decay and the Almirós Plain was under supervision of a local ruler: Veli Pasha, son of Ali Pasha.²⁴ Gell described the extensive remains of a city, 'probably the city of Halos', in the ancient 'Campus Croceus', located on an insulated hill, before arriving at the village of 'Platanios' (modern-day Plátanos).²⁵ When the British topographer William Leake visited the site on December 11, 1809, he reported the existence of a spring which lay directly below the northern spur of the Óthris in an area called Kefálosi.²⁶ On the nearby summit he saw ruins of what he called a 'Hellenic citadel', as well as remains on the northern and south-

eastern slopes of the hill. These remains were connected to a quadrangular area in the plain below. The interior of this quadrangular area contained 'stones, the foundations of buildings and broken pottery'.²⁷ Taking Strabo's description as his guide, Leake, just as Gell before him, concluded that this had to be Halos and that the river flowing to its north was the Amphrysos.

After the Greek war of independence the first Greek-Ottoman border line was drawn along the river Salambriás, situated to the south of the Almirós Plain. The remains of Halos therefore continued to be situated in Ottoman territory. This situation lasted until 1881, and only few travellers visited the Almirós area. One of them was the Danish scholar Johan Louis Ussing, who noted a distinct variation between the archaeological remains on the hill and those in the plain, especially in the construction of the walls. This led him to believe that the remains on the spurs of the Óthris were older than the city on the plain below, which he characterised as more regular, and only settled '*seit man die Güter der Ebene in Ruhe genießen zu können glaubte*'.²⁸ Ussing furthermore commented on the monumentality of the city walls, and noted that the Amphrysos spring was located at the north-western corner of the younger city. Even without knowledge of the inscriptions suggesting the Hellenistic existence of Halos, Ussing thus was the first scholar to formulate the hypothesis that Halos had existed in two different instances, as an older and a younger town. Although his identification of the locations of the older and younger towns as well as his reasons for it would turn out to be incorrect, the hypothesis itself was followed by many scholars after him.

A surge in local interest in the ancient past

In 1881 the Ottoman Empire conceded Thessaly to Greece, leading to a surge of interest in the ancient past in modern-day Almirós. Some initial epigraphic finds in the area were published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* by eminent scholars such as Paul Monceaux and Gustave Fougères, and the local, self-taught archaeologist Nikolaos Giannopoulos.²⁹ Upon the initiative of Giannopoulos, who himself grew up in Almirós, the Antiquarian Society 'Óthris' (Ὀθρῖς) was founded on the 28th of April 1896. Although Thessaly was occupied by Ottoman forces for almost a year after the disastrous thirty-day Greek-Ottoman war of 1897, the Antiquarian Society collected numerous archaeological finds, including many inscriptions, and published its first annual report in 1899.

As the secretary of the Óthris Society and the first curator of the Archaeological Museum of Almirós, Giannopoulos played an essential part in starting the antiquarian collections of local material. He contributed substantially to the knowledge of the history of the Almirós region by collecting and publishing many inscriptions from the region, but also by writing notes on historical and topographical problems. Many of his publications remain invaluable, as they record objects which were subsequently destroyed by earthquakes or lost through other circumstances. Although his publications do not extensively treat Halos, Giannopoulos does seem to have been especially interested in the alleged presence of the sanctuary of Zeus Laphystios. For instance, he connected a fragmentary proxeny decree found near Tsingéli, as well as a bronze statuette from the area of Halos, to the Sanctuary of Zeus Laphystios.³⁰

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Vollgraff and the temple of Zeus Laphystios

Carl Wilhelm Vollgraff was the first Dutch scholar to conduct an archaeological campaign in the Almirós region. Vollgraff's interest in finding the famous sanctuary of Athena Itonia was his main reason to come to Achaia Phthiotis in 1906. At the time, this sanctuary was commonly associated with the town of Itonos that, according to Strabo, lay at a distance of sixty stadia from Halos.³¹ Based on this information Vollgraff focused his attention on the area around Halos. His unpublished diary contains notes about the investigations in the Almirós plain, and provides more details than the brief article that was published about this campaign.^{32, 33}

On the 17th of May 1906 Vollgraff went to Magoula Plataniótiki, a hillock to the southeast of Almirós, close to the coast. Eight workmen were employed to clean part of the foundations of this large building and they opened two additional test trenches. Although Vollgraff's notes lack detail, it is obvious that in 1906 the ruins of a large building were still visible on the surface. Vollgraff writes in his diary:

Zichtbaar is de N.W.hoek van het fundament van een groot, georiënteerd gebouw, dat waarschijnlijk in een temenos lag. Het gebouw moet ± 52 lang en 39 m breed geweest zijn. Het fundament beter gereinigd, en gegraven aan den O. en den N. kant van het gebouw, zonder resultaat. Zwarte Grieksche scherven.

The northwest corner of the foundation of a large, oriented building, which probably lay inside a temenos, is now visible. The building seems to have been approximately 52 meters in length and 39 meters in width. We cleaned the foundation more thoroughly, and we excavated along the east and north sides of the building, without result. Black Greek sherds.

In Vollgraff's opinion the material dated to the Classical period, and the remains could be identified as a temple which belonged to the neighbouring city of Halos. Subsequently Giannopoulos suggested that it could be the sanctuary of Zeus Laphystios.³⁴

After two days of work at Magoúla Plataniótiki, Vollgraff left the region and went to Argos, where he conducted investigations under the aegis of the *École française d'Athènes*.³⁵ However, Vollgraff was clearly intrigued by his finds at Magoúla Plataniótiki, and he wrote to Giannopoulos later in the same year to inquire about the possibility of continuing the excavation of the supposed sanctuary of Zeus Laphystios.³⁶ In a letter dating to August 19th 1906 Giannopoulos suggested to Vollgraff that he should conduct an excavation at the site in September, when the fields at Magoúla Plataniótiki were not under cultivation. However, Vollgraff was forced to abandon his Thessalian efforts when, combined with other adverse circumstances, large plots of land in the Eparchia of Almirós were sold to the Greek state for the housing of thousands of Greek refugees from Bulgaria in 1907.

Stählin's Altstadt and Neustadt

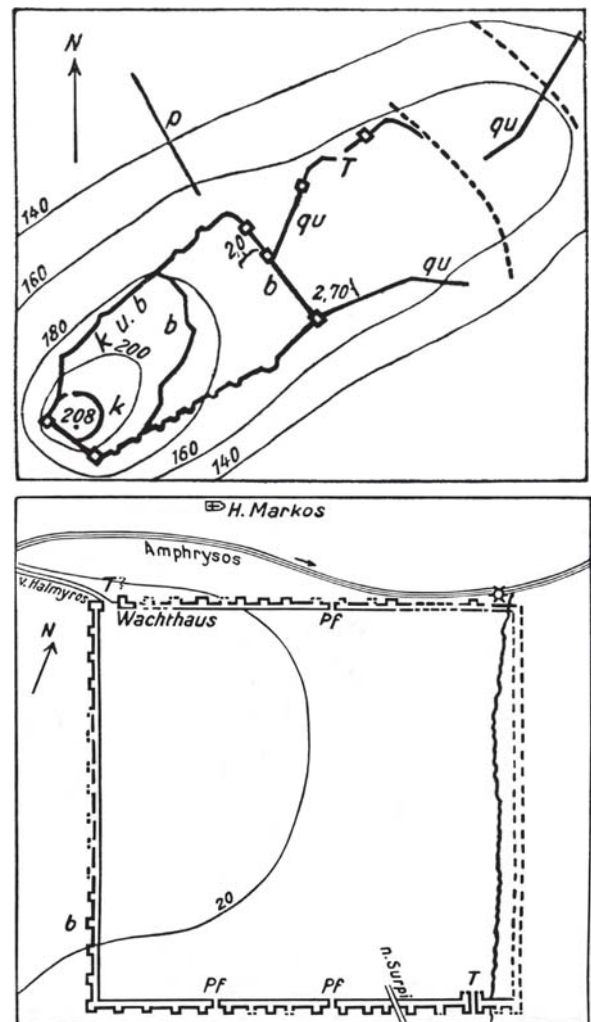
Friedrich Stählin, who made the first of his many trips to Thessaly in 1904, published important work on the archaeological remains of Halos.³⁷ His excursions to the region resulted in two studies: *Landeskunde der Phthiotis* published in 1906, and *Das Hellenische Thessalien* published in 1924. To this day, his work is indispensable for the archaeology of Thessaly. About Halos, Stählin reports that he agreed with Ussing's distinction between an 'older and a younger town' at the site near Kefálosi spring. He interpreted the visible archaeological remains as an *Altstadt* and *Neustadt*, and he drew relatively detailed maps of these two phases (figs 4a-b).³⁸

Stählin regarded the walls on the spur of the Óthris mountains at an altitude of ca 160-180 m as belonging to the Classical town of Halos, the *Altstadt*, which Demosthenes states was destroyed in 346 BC by Parmenion. The walls on the downward slope to the east were interpreted as an

extension of the *Altstadt* which was not yet completed when the city was destroyed.³⁹ On the top of the mountain spur Stählin identified medieval remains:

auf einen kleinen Teil der Altstadt zog sich später die byzantinische Stadt zurück, die nur etwa 900 m in Umkreis hatte. [...] Sie hieß Halmyros.

The almost square enceinte on the plain below the spur, first observed by Leake, was what Stählin identified as the *Neustadt*. He suggested that its construction was instigated by the Achaian League in response to the campaigns of Demetrios Poliorketes.⁴⁰ Stählin was aware of Vollgraff's test excavations and their results, stating that the remains of a monumental building had



Figs 4a-b. Maps of Halos by Friedrich Stählin (1924): Halos Altstadt and Halos Neustadt.

been found to the north-east of Halos, near Magoúla Plataniótiki:

*Hier lag wohl ein Tempel von Halos (des Zeus Laphystios?)*⁴¹

From 1907 archaeological field activity in Thessaly waned as Greece became enveloped in the Balkan Wars, the large-scale exchange of refugees, the First and Second World Wars, and the Smyrna disaster. Nevertheless, there were still scholars working in the area, and a number of important studies appeared, such as the first treatise devoted to the bronze coins of Thessaly, including multiple series from Halos, published in 1932 by Edgar Rogers.⁴²

THE HALOS ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT (1976-2016)

After a long period during which little attention was paid to the archaeology of the Almirós region, the University of Groningen started a fieldwork programme in 1976. The origins of the project lie in the early 1970s, when Dutch archaeologists of various universities commenced fieldwork in the Mediterranean: Jan Willem Salomonson started investigations in Tunisia, Kees (S.C.) Bakhuizen in Thessaly and Johannes Boersma in Ostia. Whereas the education of Classical Archaeology at Dutch universities until that time had mainly focused on the art history, these archaeological projects were aimed at understanding specific sites in a comprehensive manner. For example, at Goritsa, a hill near Volos in Thessaly, a survey was undertaken under the direction of Bakhuizen. This project mapped the surface remains of a city, with special attention paid to the general layout of the site including its defensive structures, but also to the strategic aspects of the landscape, such as the identification of limestone quarries linked to the site's building materials.

The research by Bakhuizen at Goritsa had a profound influence on the research project at Halos, as did discussions with various architects and urban planners, including Konstantinos Doxiadis⁴³ and those working for the IJsselmeerpolders Development Authority, which was responsible for the design and construction of Lelystad, a planned town on reclaimed land in the Netherlands.⁴⁴ These were the starting points for setting up a research agenda for the Halos Archaeological Project. The guiding principle of the project has been to study the site with a holistic approach, with attention for both the site at Kefálosi spring and the wider area, and aimed at gaining information about the landscape, urban planning, defensive structures,

zoning, residential infrastructure and aspects of daily life in the town, such as domestic economy and subsistence.

The site at Kefálosi spring: New Halos (1975-2011)

When Reinders and his team started investigations in Halos in 1976, no attention had been paid to the site since Stählin's investigations in 1904 (published in 1924). Stählin's hypothesis about the existence of a Classical and a Hellenistic city near Kefálosi-spring, and the maps of Halos' *Altstadt* and *Neustadt* formed the basis for the first two expeditions of the Halos Archaeological Project in 1976 and 1977, aimed at mapping the surface remains at the site. During the survey of the remains of the walls on the spur of the Óthris mountains, it soon became evident that Stählin's hypothesis about the two phases of the city was false. The architectural remains on the hill proved to be part of a 12th-century Middle-Byzantine fort, including barracks and cisterns.⁴⁵

It further became evident that a small part of the Byzantine wall was built on top of the remains of a large tower belonging to Hellenistic fortifications.⁴⁶ The walls to the east of the Byzantine fort - Stählin's supposed extension of the Classical *Altstadt* - in fact turned out to be an integral part of the acropolis and upper town of a city of Hellenistic date.⁴⁷ The walls were connected to the circuit wall of the lower town and were clearly planned as a whole from the beginning (fig. 5). No remains of the Classical period were encountered on the acropolis, nor on the plain. Whereas Stählin and his predecessors had looked for the Halos of Homer and Demosthenes, they had found a Halos of later date. Accordingly, the site around the Hellenistic acropolis was named New Halos, and the question of the whereabouts of the Classical city from the literary sources remained open.

Repeated archaeological investigations at the site were conducted between 1976 and 2011. It has become clear that the fortification walls of the site were built in a single effort, probably around 302 BCE. The upper town was surrounded by a triangular enceinte, which was connected to the walls of the lower town. The impressive size of the fortifications of the site and its strategic location indicate that it was built primarily for military purposes. The date suggests that the site may have been a military colony of Demetrios Poliorketes, and can be considered a case of *Imponierarchitektur* (figs 6a-c).⁴⁸

The upper town seemed to have been home to several public buildings, though only one, a sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone, has so far been

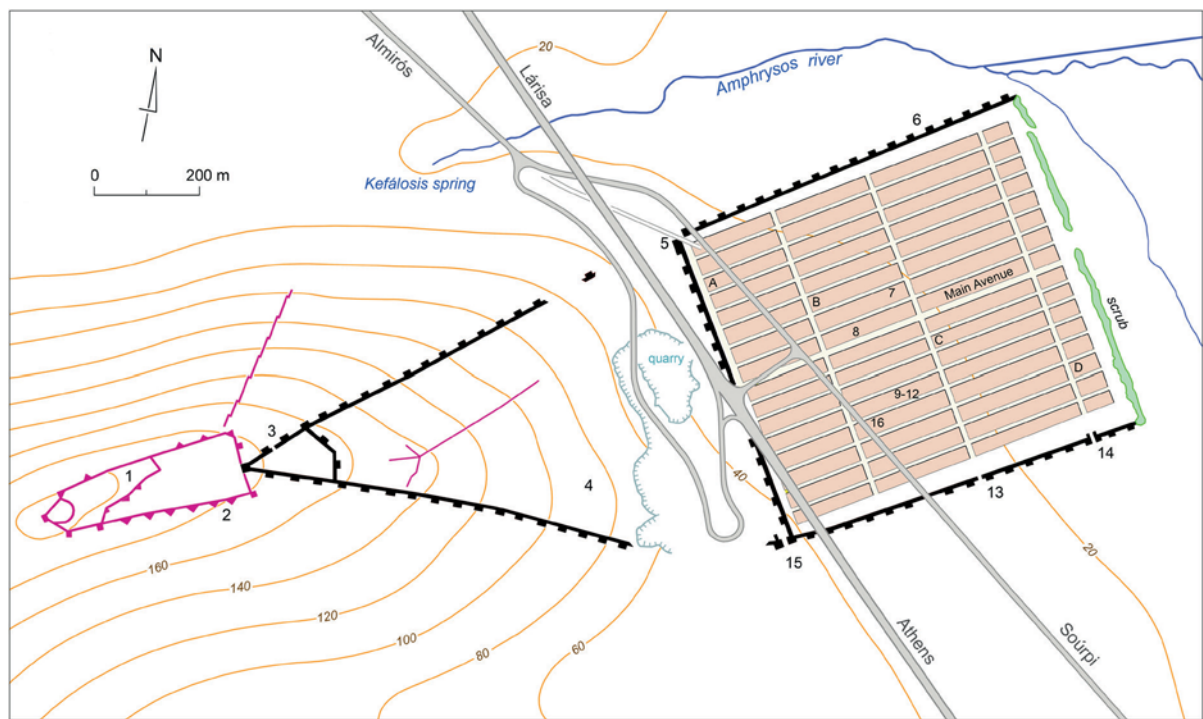


Fig. 5. The circuit walls of the Byzantine fort, the Acropolis and the upper and lower towns of New Halos. Excavations: 1) building in the Byzantine fort, 2) tower of the Byzantine fort, 3) Acropolis Gate, 4) Sanctuary of Demeter, 5) Northwest Gate, 6) tower, 7) House of the Koroplast, 8) House of the Geometric Krater, 9-12) Houses of the Snakes, Agathon, Ptolemaic Coins and Amphorai, 13) Southeast Gate, 14) postern, 15) South Gate, 16) House of the Tub (drawing Reinder Reinders).

excavated.⁴⁹ During later excavations in the lower town, an inscription dedicated to Demeter was found, which may be connected to this sanctuary.⁵⁰ Although the inscription does not give us more than the name of the dedicant, Nikoboula daughter of Polykleitos, and the dedication to Demeter (12: 'Δάματρί', in the dative), it certainly strengthens the idea that the Hellenistic city had an active Demeter cult.⁵¹

The lower town was a residential area, with houses of irregular sizes and layout erected in planned blocks, along an orthogonal street grid.⁵² The total number of houses has been estimated at 1400, which could have easily housed 9000 inhabitants.⁵³ Trial excavations in the period 1977-1979 showed that the find context in the rooms of the houses was relatively undisturbed; ceramics were broken, but objects were still recognizable. Moreover, artefacts lay close to the surface in a single occupation layer, indicating that Hellenistic Halos was a one-period site that was not built over in later periods. This provided the rare opportunity to perform a spatial analysis of houses. The meth-

odology used in the Halos Archaeological Project included the documentation of the exact find spot of artefacts in the houses, allowing a detailed analysis of the use of space, a method divergent from what was common practice in archaeological excavations of domestic quarters until then. The finds from the houses include household and storage pottery, agricultural and fishing equipment, loom weights, and clay figurine moulds, all indicative of the daily activities and household production by the inhabitants of Halos.⁵⁴

Archaeozoological study provided valuable information about animal husbandry, hunting and foraging, and the ritual use of animals in the Hellenistic town.⁵⁵ The remains of both molluscs and domestic mammals (sheep, goat, cattle and pigs) were the bulk of the material, indicating that these formed the main source of animal protein in the ancient diet at Halos. Hunting, on the other hand, seems to have been rare. The domestic animals were kept outside of town, presumably in the lower parts of the Óthris, and there is evidence for transhumance.⁵⁶

The houses of the lower town also yielded



Fig. 6a. The Southeast Gate of Hellenistic Halos during the excavation campaign of 2005 (photo Thanos Ethimiopoulos).



Fig. 6b. Visit of the Dutch ambassador to the excavation of the Southeast Gate in 1997; from left to right Van Hasselt, Reinders, Wagenmakers (the Dutch ambassador) and Alexiadis (photo Ido Dijkstra).



Fig. 6c. Students at work at the Southeast Gate during the field campaign of 2001 (photo Sascha Benerink).

large numbers of coins, mostly bronze, but also silver. A vast majority of the bronze coins were not locally minted but struck by other Thessalian cities. This contradicted the generally accepted idea that in Hellenistic times the circulation of bronze coins was mostly restricted to the city that had issued the coins.⁵⁷ In fact, the presence of these coins is a strong indication that Halos played a role in the regional economic network.

Surveys in the Óthris Mountains by Greek geologists revealed a remarkable exploitation of copper ore in the beginning of the 3rd century BCE in the area around Larisa Kremaste.⁵⁸ Enormous slag heaps near the acropolis of Larisa bear witness to the smelting of this copper ore, which is likely to be connected to the large coin emissions by both Larisa Kremaste and Halos in this period. If the supposition that Demetrios Poliorketes was the founder of New Halos is correct, one might wonder if we should see this peak in minting activity as his initiative towards a stronger monetary economy in this part of Achaia Phthiotis.⁵⁹

The excavations have shown that Hellenistic (New) Halos had a short-lived history, as the city was abruptly abandoned around 265 BCE, less than 40 years after its foundation around 302 BCE. The dates are clear from the coins found in seven of the houses of the lower town.⁶⁰ When in 1980 an earthquake with a magnitude of 6.7 on the Richter scale hit the Almirós-area, this presented to the excavators the strong suggestion that an earthquake could also have been the reason for the abandonment of New Halos. The 1980 earthquake destroyed a large number of houses in the Almirós area, in particular those houses that had walls constructed of cobbles and mudbrick, which could not withstand the forces of the natural disaster. Similar building techniques had been used in New Halos. The site was not completely abandoned, however, as there is clear evidence for continued habitation in one part of the site after 302 BCE: the Southeast Gate, which lost its defensive function, was transformed into a farmhouse, and was inhabited until ca. 220 BCE.⁶¹

Together with the inscriptions from the 2nd century BCE, these remains indicate that the area remained inhabited and perhaps still belonged under the denomination of 'Halos' until late in the Hellenistic period. No remains contemporary to the proxeny and arbitration inscriptions have however been found up to date.

Magoúla Plataniótiki: 'Old' Halos (2011-2016)

In spite of the ample evidence for the existence of Hellenistic Halos, the question of the whereabouts

of the Classical town, 'Old' Halos, supposedly destroyed and taken over by Pharsalos in 346 BCE, remained open. A chance discovery during a geomorphological campaign in the plains of Almirós and Soúrpi in 1977-1978, led to a probable answer: a concentration of archaeological material (roof tiles, red-figured and black gloss sherds, loom weights, amphora bases, a few coins, and many lime stone building blocks) was identified in the fields on and directly around Magoúla Plataniótiki. The majority of the material could be dated to the Classical and Hellenistic periods (5th-3rd century BCE). The nature of these surface finds seemed to indicate that the site was not merely an extra-urban sanctuary, but an actual settlement.

Combined with the written sources that describe Halos as located on the coast, and observations by Vollgraff and Giannopoulos about the presence of a temple or sanctuary at the Magoúla, the results of the research in the late 1970s led Reinders to propose a tentative identification of Magoúla Plataniótiki as Classical Halos.⁶² A systematic survey was carried out at the site in 1990, which confirmed the previous results, and further clarified that the city had a size of ca 10 ha, making it one of the larger sites of the region.⁶³

Since 2011, renewed investigations have been carried out at Magoúla Plataniótiki. A team of the University of Amsterdam, under direction of Vladimir Stissi, carried out resurveys of the site in 2011 and 2012, aimed at obtaining a clearer picture of its extent and chronology.⁶⁴ The research showed that the site is limited to the Magoúla itself: there are no traces of habitation immediately around the main site, probably owing to the marshiness of the soil. A large terrace wall, running roughly east-west, one of the more notable features of the site, constitutes a sharp north border of the hill. The extent of the site to the south was not investigated.

Most surface material at the Magoúla was of Classical and Hellenistic date, thus confirming the results of the 1990 survey. A few areas to the south of the top of the Magoúla yielded finds of the Bronze Age and Archaic period. There was also a thin spread of Roman and some concentrations of Medieval material, but this did not reveal any clear patterns. It appeared that the site was potentially inhabited for over a thousand years.

Subsurface architectural remains are visible in impressive detail over much of the site on satellite image by Google dating to 28 October 2013 (fig. 7). Similar images resulted from aerial photography of the site, undertaken in 2013 and 2014. A geophysical survey directed by Apostolos Saris was undertaken in the spring of 2015.⁶⁵ The



Fig. 7. Crop marks at Magoúla Plataniótiki reveal the extent of the site, street patterns and building blocks (Google Earth 2015).

methods that were used included magnetic gradiometry, soil resistance, EMI methods, and GPR techniques. The results substantiated and added to the evidence from aerial photography. The various images of the site indicate a clear delineation of the settlement in the west, with a north-south alignment. The eastern border of the settlement, best visible on the Google satellite images, is less articulated. The city seems to have measured about 260 m in width. Architectural features abound all over the site, but the clearest evidence comes from the eastern part of the settlement, where a regular city plan with streets, houses, and what could be public buildings can be discerned. Two superimposed layers with differing orientation in the east of the site give evidence of two different phases of habitation.

During excavations at the Magoúla in 2013, 2014 and 2016 various test trenches were opened around the highest point, and along the edges of the site.⁶⁶ All of the trenches yielded relatively undisturbed archaeological layers, including architectural remains of domestic and monumental nature. The excavated material is still under study, but preliminary findings seem to suggest that, despite some evidence for man-made or natural destruction, the site was inhabited from the Archaic period to the mid-3rd century BCE. We may consider the possibility that the partial abandonment of the site is contemporary to that of New Halos in 265 BCE. It is certainly clear that the site was not completely abandoned in 346 BCE, as suggested by Demosthenes.

CONCLUSIONS

Though the ancient literary and documentary sources for Halos are scarce, archaeological investigation carried out between 1976-2016 has enhanced our knowledge of the town's history. There is evidence for the existence of a polis named Halos from the Late Archaic until the later Hellenistic period. The archaeological excavations at Kéfalosi spring and Magoúla Plataniótiki have led to the conclusion that the inhabitants of the polis lived at various sites in the Almirós region throughout its lifespan. It seems that the town was relocated at least twice: 'Old' Halos, or the Classical city on the coast mentioned in the literary sources, is thought to have been located at Magoúla Plataniótiki; New Halos, in the Souúrpi plain, was inhabited only from ca 302-265 BCE; the Hellenistic polis that issued a proxeny decree in 183-182 BC and was entangled in a dispute with Thebai Phthiotides around 145 BCE, must have been located elsewhere, because no substantial remains dating to this period have hitherto been found at either of the two other sites.

The Halos Archaeological Project continues its research in the Almirós region. The research carried out at Magoúla Plataniótiki has already yielded fascinating results, and a future research project is planned. At the moment of writing, a research programme for 2018-2022 is in preparation. The research programme will certainly include efforts to gain a better understanding of the geography and the delineation of the site at the Magoúla to determine the relation between the different phases of habitation discerned in the prospection and the test trenches, and to establish how far the archaeological stratigraphy continues below the levels revealed up to now.

NOTES

- ¹ This article would not exist without Reinder Reinders, who has been inexhaustibly involved with Halos and Thessaly for the past forty years. We are grateful to him for his support and insights. We would also like to thank our colleagues of the University of Amsterdam and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia for the collaboration during the excavations in the past years at Magoúla Plataniótiki, as well as our reviewers. Any mistakes or oversights that may remain are our own.
- ² The directors of the project in 2012-2016 were Reinder Reinders, Vaso Rondiri, and Vladimir Stissi. A new 5-year research plan is currently in preparation.
- ³ Hom. *Il.* 2.682.
- ⁴ Strab. 9.5.8.
- ⁵ Hdt. 7.197. The connection of this myth to Halos also appears in a wide variety of post-Classical literary sources: Strabo 9.5.8; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.192; Ov. *Fast.* 3.825-875; Paus. 9.34; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.1.
- ⁶ Note that the cult of Zeus Laphystios, combined with the Athamas legend, is also attested at Orchomenos in Boeotia; testimonies are Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.1140-1156 and Paus. 9.34.5.
- ⁷ Rogers 1932; Reinders 1988.
- ⁸ Paus. 9.24.1.
- ⁹ See Harder et al. in preparation.
- ¹⁰ Dem. 19.163.
- ¹¹ Strab. 9.5.8. The extant manuscripts have a lacuna, see Radt 2008; for other identifications of the new inhabitants, see Reinders et al. 2014, 15-18. Dem. 19.334 hints at the possible destruction of Halos by Philippos II of Macedon. This may have happened at the so-called 'Battle of Crocus Field' (353 or 352 BCE), a battle of Philippos and the Thessalians versus Lycophron and the Phocians: they met on a field close to the sea, probably near the Pagasitic Gulf. This may well have been the Krokian Plain. Where exactly on the great plain this battle took place, has not been established. See Diod. Sic. 16.35; Beloch 1918, 477; Buckler 1989, 74-75.
- ¹² Diod. Sic. 20.110.2.
- ¹³ IG IX,2 107. Appointing the citizens of other cities as *proxenos* or representative abroad was common in the Hellenistic era. William Mack's recent monograph on proxeny describes the inscribing of proxeny decrees as a performance of polis identity, an assertion of polis status to the surrounding world. Only a polis could grant *proxenia*, and this type of exchange could promote other cities' recognition of Halos' participation in the polis world (Mack 2015, 201-206).
- ¹⁴ Giannopoulos 1890, 241.
- ¹⁵ Another fragmentary proxeny decree cannot be attributed to Halos with certainty, although it is thus designated in IG IX,2 108. The same goes for two manumission decrees (IG IX,2 110 from Roman times, IG IX,2 111 undated), a fragment of an otherwise unidentifiable honorific decree (IG IX,2 127), and a list of names (IG IX,2 1321). The latter may be executed in different stonemasons' hands, which could suggest it was in use for a longer period, recording e.g. officeholders of some kind.
- ¹⁶ Pouilloux 1976. See Ager 1996, 415-420; Freitag 2006, 214-223.
- ¹⁷ The proxeny decree was found in a house in the village Plátonos, the arbitration record is only known from a copy that was erected in Delphi.
- ¹⁸ Hdt. 7.173.
- ¹⁹ Dem. 19.163. See also Reinders et al. 2014, 13-15.
- ²⁰ Strabo 9.5.8.
- ²¹ Strabo 9.5.14.
- ²² The map can be seen online at <http://www.geographicus.com/P/AntiqueMap/GreeceAncient-anville-1794> (accessed 26-1-2017).
- ²³ Referred to in Reinders 1988, 30.
- ²⁴ Ussing (1857) informs us that the site at Halos was used as a quarry by Veli Pasha.
- ²⁵ Gell 1819, 256-7.
- ²⁶ Leake 1835, 336-338; quoted in Reinders 1988, 33.
- ²⁷ Leake 1835, 336.
- ²⁸ Ussing 1857.
- ²⁹ E.g.: Monceaux 1883; Fougères 1889; Giannopoulos 1890; 1891; 1894. For a more elaborate list of early publications, see Gallis 1979, 10-13 with notes. On Giannopoulos' life and career see Gallis 1979, 10-14.
- ³⁰ See Giannopoulos 1915; 1925-1926. It should be noted that this particular decree later turned out not to belong to Halos: see Habicht 1972; Helly 1978.
- ³¹ Since Giannopoulos had suggested Magoúla Zerélia (a prehistoric settlement west of Almirós) was the site of the Athena Itonia sanctuary (Giannopoulos 1891, 437), Vollgraff started his campaign here on May 11th 1906. The excavation uncovered a prehistoric and a Hellenistic phase, but not the sanctuary. In 1908 two archaeologists of the British School at Athens continued at Zerélia: Alan J.B. Wace and John P. Droop, known as the Magoúla hunters. Cf. Wace/Droop/Thompson 1907-1908; Wace/Thompson 1911-1912. Vollgraff then turned his attention to the nearby Kastro of Karatsádagli, where he uncovered Hellenistic houses and monumental architecture. This excavation was later concluded by Apostolos Arvanitopoulos, cf. Arvanitopoulos 1908.
- ³² Vollgraff's archives have unfortunately not been published, but fragments of his diary were made available to Reinder Reinders by Gert Jan te Riele (1922-2014), the first director of the Netherlands Institute at Athens.
- ³³ In Wace/Droop/Thompson 1907-8, 224-225.
- ³⁴ Vollgraff (in Wace/Droop/Thompson 1907-1908, 224-225) does not provide a reference to Giannopoulos' suggestion.
- ³⁵ Vollgraff was a foreign member of the Ecole française d'Athènes. The School has published Vollgraff's diaries about his work at Argos online: http://www.ressources-en-ligne.efa.gr/archives_carnets_Argos/ARGOS_2-C_ARG_124_Vollgraff/ (accessed 24 January 2017).
- ³⁶ Four draft letters by Giannopoulos to Vollgraff have been preserved in the archives of the Almirós Antiquarian Society Óthris, and were made available to us by Victor Kondonatsios, the current president of the society. They inform us of Vollgraff's plans for the excavation of the sanctuary. These letters are dated to 19 August 1906, 27 October 1906, 6 November 1907 and 28 December 1907.
- ³⁷ Stählin 1924.
- ³⁸ Stählin 1924, 177-183, figs. 22 and 23.
- ³⁹ Stählin 1924.
- ⁴⁰ Frederick Winter took this idea even further in his book on ancient fortifications and concluded that relocation of the town from the hilltop to the plain must have been a tactical move, as this site must have been a military stronghold rather than an ordinary town, cf. Winter 1971, 115.
- ⁴¹ Stählin 1924, 180.
- ⁴² Rogers 1932, 83-86.
- ⁴³ Toynbee 1971.
- ⁴⁴ From 1974 to 1989 Reinders was affiliated with this Authority as a maritime archaeologist and the director of the museums at Schokland and Ketelhaven.
- ⁴⁵ Reinders 1988, 175-178.

- ⁴⁶ Stählin 1924, 178; Reinders 1988.
- ⁴⁷ Stählin 1924, 178; Reinders 1988.
- ⁴⁸ Reinders 1988; 2014, 15-20; Rose 2014.
- ⁴⁹ Reinders 1988, though in this publication the building is identified as a 'sepulchral building'. See Reinders 2014, 38-39 for a brief revision of the arguments.
- ⁵⁰ Nikolaou 2015.
- ⁵¹ See Harder et al. forthcoming. Evidence for other cults in Halos comes from inscriptions alone. The arbitration decree from Delphi mentions a sanctuary of Artemis Panachaia in Halos (where the inscription had to be erected), as well as the 'sacred land' that the arbitration concerned (Pouilloux 1976). Two more inscriptions mention Artemis. One, a quadrangular block that resembles a small altar, is a dedication to Artemis Soteira (cf. Malakasioti/Reinders 2001-2004; Harder et al. forthcoming). The other is IG IX,2 1325: a rectangular block with the word 'Επίδοσις' (IH 36, l. 1), under which barely legible letters (in fact, Giannopoulos 1908, 292 writes he did not think they were letters at all) seem to spell, Εὐχρατεῖ[δα] / Ἀρτέμ[ιδι] (ll.2-3). If this is indeed what the stone says, it seems to be a commemoration of a donation to Artemis. Finally IG IX,2 112, dated to Hellenistic times and found re-used in one of the walls of the Ottoman mosque in Almirós, mentions a priest of Apollo. This appearance of Apollo is however isolated, and no other evidence for an Apollo sanctuary in the area has been found. See Graninger 2011, 43-86 and Mili 2015, 99-160 on Thessalian cults more in general.
- ⁵² Reinders 1988; Reinders/Prummel 2003.
- ⁵³ Reinders 1988: 193.
- ⁵⁴ For discussions of the houses and their contents see in particular: Reinders 1988; Haagsma 2003, 2010; Reinders/Prummel 2003; Reinders et al. 2011; Dijkstra et al. 2013.
- ⁵⁵ Prummel 2003a; 2003b.
- ⁵⁶ Reinders/Prummel 1998.
- ⁵⁷ Reinders 2004.
- ⁵⁸ Papastamataki/Demetriou/Orphanos 1994.
- ⁵⁹ Reinders/Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti/Vaxevanopoulos (in preparation).
- ⁶⁰ Reinders 2003; 2004: The excavations yielded coins of Ptolemaios II (285-246 BCE), the Macedonian kings Kassandros (316-297 BCE) and Demetrios Poliorketes (294-288 BCE), as well as coins issued by Lysimachos (306-281 BCE) and Pyrrhos (295-272 BCE). Only very few coins of Philippos II (359-336 BC), Alexandros III (336-332 BC) and Antigonos Gonatas (277-239 BC) were found in some of the houses.
- ⁶¹ Reinders 2014.
- ⁶² See Reinders 1988, 159-164; 1993, 54-57.
- ⁶³ Efstathiou/Malakasioti/Reinders 1991; Reinders 2014, 13-15.
- ⁶⁴ See the preliminary report on the survey campaigns in *Pharos* (Stissi et al. forthcoming).
- ⁶⁵ An unpublished report on the geophysical investigations was prepared by Apostolos Sarris and his colleagues.
- ⁶⁶ See the preliminary report on the trial trenches in *Pharos* (Stissi et al. 2017).
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Monumenti funerari in *opus latericium* al V miglio della via Appia antica

Helke Kammerer-Grothaus

Riassunto

Oggetto di questo studio sono l'analisi e la ricostruzione, a mo' di esempio, di un monumento funerario della tipologia detta 'a tempietto' situato presso via degli Eugenio. Verranno presi inoltre in considerazione gli edifici funebri in muratura a vista siti nell'area del IV-V miglio della via Appia antica, con particolare attenzione alle problematiche inerenti alla loro classificazione, concezione architettonica, decorazione, nonché alla storia delle loro ricostruzioni. Il presente è un contributo ospite nell'ambito progetto internazionale 'Mapping the via Appia', realizzato sotto la guida della Soprintendenza di Roma in cooperazione con la Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, la Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam e il Reale Istituto Olandese di Roma, nell'ambito del quale saranno presentati anche altri risultati.¹

I. INTRODUZIONE

In questa occasione si parlerà di tre edifici in mattoni che si trovano tra il IV e V miglio della Via Appia antica² e che rappresentano delle tipologie edilizie caratteristiche. Si tratta di una tomba a tempietto - di cui saranno forniti un rilievo e una descrizione architettonica - e di due tombe in mattoni a forma di torre su più livelli. Nonostante questi monumenti siano stati frequentemente rappresentati nella letteratura sulla via Appia per le loro particolarità, finora sono stati trascurati e necessitano, pertanto, di uno studio più approfondito.

Gli studi

Le tipologie architettoniche funerarie del *suburbium* di Roma coprono un ampio spettro e sono state minuziosamente documentate, nel loro contesto sociale ed urbanistico, da H. v. Hesberg.³ M. Heinzlmann ed altri autori hanno criticato l'incertezza terminologica nella definizione delle singole tipologie di edifici funebri⁴ senza però che questo conducesse al superamento del problema. Al contrario, i materiali e le modalità di sepoltura predominanti sono talvolta impiegati addirittura come criteri per l'individuazione della tipologia costruttiva ed alla luce di essi si effettuano censimenti di natura tipologica dei monumenti.⁵

Ad oggi dagli approcci metodologici per una descrizione sistematica dei monumenti funerari romani sono emersi differenti punti di vista che C. Flaeming ha così sintetizzato:⁶ 1. la tipologia regionale (tra gli altri cfr. Eisner 1986); 2. la storia

dello sviluppo di una tipologia di sepoltura oltre i confini regionali; 3. il significato delle varie tipologie di sepoltura nel loro contesto sociale; 4. l'evoluzione dei modelli di sepoltura alla luce della loro concezione, funzione e rappresentazione.⁷

Una caratteristica delle necropoli della città di Roma sono le c.d. *Gräberstrassen*⁸ come la via Appia antica che, arteria urbana e strada militare, è costellata di edifici funerari in sequenza più o meno fitta e le cui facciate sono tutte rivolte verso la strada. La funzione primaria di queste strade tuttavia non era - come suggerisce erroneamente il termine tedesco - quella di accesso agli edifici funerari; al contrario, erano le tombe che semplicemente si allineavano lungo le strade, disponendosi talora su più file una dietro l'altra, dando vita a reticoli di vie secondarie perpendicolari o parallele a quella principale. Le singole necropoli non avevano di base un sistema viario proprio ma si adattavano alla rete di infrastrutture delle attività commerciali e delle ville del suburbio.

Recentemente alcuni architetti e archeologi romani - in particolare R. Paris e M.G. Filetici - hanno felicemente ripreso sotto il motto 'Costruire in laterizio' la questione delle caratteristiche dei materiali delle antiche costruzioni in laterizio.⁹ Le mie ricerche a riguardo risalgono già a diversi anni fa (1974) e per questo è importante verificare e riformulare le vecchie tesi alla luce dello stato attuale degli studi.

Negli ultimi anni questi studiosi di edifici hanno inoltre cercato di sviluppare un nuovo approccio metodologico ai rilievi architettonici sugli edifici funebri della via Appia antica.¹⁰ Grazie alle possibilità offerte dal 3D, le ricostruzioni della

famosa opera di Luigi Canina *La prima parte della via Appia* (Roma, 1853) sono state analizzate e confrontate con quanto resta oggi degli edifici. Un esempio è rappresentato dal *Sepolcro dorico*, così detto per il fregio dorico che corona il blocco del basamento dell'edificio.¹¹

In questi studi sono stati presi in esame alcuni monumenti funebri siti tra il III ed il IV miglio, al fine di valutare il metodo di lavoro del Canina attraverso i suoi disegni e i suoi schizzi, oggi conservati presso l'Archivio di Stato di Torino.¹²

Gli architetti Maria Grazia Filetici e Susanna Pasquali hanno tuttavia ammesso 'i limiti di questo modo di procedere' quando, in occasione di un recente scavo della Soprintendenza sotto un monumento - non noto al Canina -, tra le tombe di Claudius Secundus e Hylarius Fuscus, è venuta alla luce una sepoltura più antica con un colombario, un'urna cineraria in laterizio e 'con una piccola aula rettangolare coperta a botte, dotata di catina absidale e pavimento con un mosaico minuto monocromo'.¹³ Per tali ragioni l'approccio metodologico - tra sistematizzazione e conoscenza archeologica - di Filetici è solo in parte utilizzabile, ma resta comunque di grande interesse, poiché i disegni e le ricostruzioni ottocentesche erano importanti non solo per la pianificazione di un 'museo all'aperto' ma anche perché, tra le altre cose, hanno contribuito alla conservazione delle strutture murarie antiche. Pertanto dobbiamo necessariamente confrontarci, anche nel caso della via Appia, con materiali d'archivio quali disegni di vecchi antiquari, piantine e ricostruzioni.

Via Appia restituita

Nel 1839 Canina (1795-1856)¹⁴ fu nominato Commissario alle Antichità di Roma. Attraverso contatti con l'architetto, urbanista, orafo, nonché archeologo Giuseppe Valadier (1762-1839) crebbe in lui l'interesse per l'archeologia e la ricostruzione dei monumenti antichi. Dopo gli scavi degli anni 1839-1840 al Tuscolo, del 1849 a Trastevere e degli anni 1848-1850 sull'Esquilino gli furono affidati dalla casa reale dei Savoia ulteriori scavi nell'area urbana di Roma e lungo la via Appia antica (1850-1853). Il Canina approfittò dell'occasione per l'organizzazione di una 'passeggiata archeologica' ricostruendo nei suoi disegni e talora anche concretamente, secondo il gusto neoclassico, edifici funebri ed inserendo nelle facciate delle antiche tombe frammenti marmorei di provenienza ignota come elementi di spoglio decorativi.¹⁵ Per un primo studio del contesto sto-

rico va ringraziata Antonella Rotondi che nel suo contributo *'Reciprocità celebrativa...'* per la prima volta esamina i rapporti tra le ricostruzioni artistiche di Antonio Canova (1757-1822), Giuseppe Valadier (1762-1839) e Canina lungo la via Appia.¹⁶ Gli altri studi sul Canina prendono in considerazione piuttosto la fortuna della sua opera tra i suoi contemporanei.¹⁷

Le conoscenze archeologiche generalmente sostengono e modificano il punto di vista degli architetti incaricati di ricostruire gli edifici antichi. Va considerato però che questi studiosi fin dal Settecento sono stati costantemente pressati dalla necessità di presentare quanto più rapidamente possibile, nella sua forma originaria, qualcosa che non esisteva più o che si poteva dedurre solo attraverso analogie. Anche le ricostruzioni da parte del Canina degli edifici della via Appia si collocano nel solco della tradizione consolidata delle più note presunte forme architettoniche romane. Tuttavia l'artista ha incluso nelle sue tavole rovine di edifici e piante molto dettagliate, inaugurando un nuovo modo di presentare architetture antiche. Questo metodo 'pionieristico' rende certamente alcune delle sue ricostruzioni piuttosto fantasiose e alcune di esse sono lasciate addirittura in sospenso, come nel caso della rampa di scale del colombario dei liberti di Augusto.¹⁸ Ma in ogni caso l'attendibilità del Canina per quanto riguarda la documentazione su edifici noti ed i suoi rilievi sono assolutamente ammirevoli.

Nonostante i recenti studi, osservando le sepolture in *opus latericium*¹⁹ tra il IV e il V miglio della Via Appia antica (figg. 1-12, 14-22) si torna al discorso dei metodi di rilievo architettonico e di descrizione che risultano per molti aspetti carenti. Essi riguardano una zona nella quale la Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma negli ultimi anni ha condotto scavi che hanno suscitato grande scalpore e hanno portato alla realizzazione di un ambiente storico-culturale con un centro di informazione a Capo di Bove, in quella che fu la vigna Strozzi,²⁰ e che mostra agli abitanti di Roma ed ai visitatori l'importanza della *regina viarum*, la via Appia antica. La scoperta sensazionale del frammento di una (sesta) cariatide del Triopio, con relativa iscrizione in marmo lunense PHΓΙΑΛΛΑ/ ΤΟ ΦΩC THC/ ΟΙΚΙΑC ('Regilla, luce della casa')²¹ arricchisce e attualizza le conoscenze sulla via Appia tra Capo di Bove e la Villa dei Quintili ed in particolare in relazione l'area della chiesa medievale di S. Maria Nuova, passata recentemente sotto il controllo della Soprintendenza di cui si è detto. Per questa ragione l'area in cui si trovano i monumenti di

cui si parla in questa sede potrà essere anch'essa oggetto di nuove ricerche.²²

II. PRESENTAZIONE DEI SINGOLI EDIFICI

1. *Sepoltura a tempio (IV-V miglio della via Appia) presso via degli Eugenio (De Rossi Nr. 35)*

Le prime testimonianze archeologiche di monumenti funebri a *tempio* o a *tempietto*²³ rinvenute nelle necropoli urbane di Roma e di Ostia risalgono alla seconda metà del II secolo. Tra di esse prevale la tipologia di tombe con pianta a tempio, struttura con pilastri, frontone e basamento che richiama un podio. Tra le sepolture a tempietto classiche sono invece più rari i monumenti prostili. Quest'ultima tipologia non è riuscita ad imporsi a lungo termine, sia per la pianificazione imponente e costosa che richiedeva, sia probabilmente per una più generale perdita del significato sacrale dei monumenti funebri. Il termine 'Tempelgrab' risulta per questa ragione più neutro rispetto al concetto di 'Grabtempel' spesso utilizzato in maniera scorretta e che implica una funzione sacrale dell'edificio: altare, sala destinata al culto e statua di culto.²⁴ Per distinguere le sepolture a tempio dalle costruzioni a edicola su più livelli e ricche di varianti, v. Hesberg indica come elemento caratteristico delle prime il basamento simile al podio e la cella superiore di forma rettangolare con le statue dei defunti, caratteristiche a cui andrebbero aggiunti - per completezza - naturalmente anche i sarcofagi, la funzione sacrale del frontone²⁵ e talora un ordine di colonne.²⁶ Tuttavia è difficile fissare una netta linea di demarcazione tra le sepolture a tempietto e quelle a forma di abitazione e per questo bisogna a volte rinunciare a qualcuna di queste peculiarità.

Un esempio particolarmente interessante di questa tipologia architettonica è la tomba anonima a tempietto in mattoni che si trova sul lato ovest della via Appia, tra il IV e il V miglio, all'incrocio con via degli Eugenio (secondo la numerazione di De Rossi la Nr. 35).²⁷ Si ringrazia la studentessa di architettura Roberta Pecchia per aver messo a disposizione dell'autrice (H. Kammerer Grothaus) il rilievo di questo edificio (figg. 3, 5-9). Nonostante i documenti forniti, la ricostruzione della piccola ed elegante tomba solleva molte questioni, soprattutto a causa del suo stato di conservazione e dei numerosi restauri cui è stata sottoposta.

Come documentato da alcune vecchie foto Aliari, una fase di restauro si è avuta negli anni 20

del Novecento; il grosso arco a volta nella cella superiore risale invece probabilmente ad un secondo restauro effettuato negli anni 50. Non è stato tuttavia possibile raccogliere altre informazioni in relazione a questi interventi. Perciò in questo contesto è interessante sottolineare la comparsa del monumento - fin dalla fine del Settecento - in alcune vedute molto dettagliate, come ad esempio quella di Carlo Labruzzi (1748-1817)²⁸ del 1794 o la *Veduta di un tratto della Via Appia, al IV miglio* nelle incisioni del Canina negli anni 1853 e 1856 (figg. 1, 2).²⁹

Rilevante in questo monumento risulta l'alternanza cromatica del rivestimento esterno: pilastri e mensole sono realizzati in mattoni gialli mentre le pareti, i fregi e il timpano sono in mattoni rossi. L'architettura creata dall'alternanza di colori è stata già osservata dall'autrice nel caso del tempio del *Deus Rediculus* nel Triopio di Erode Attico, sito nei pressi del II miglio dell'Appia, nella Valle della Caffarella.³⁰ Tuttavia nella sepoltura a tempietto in esame si riscontra un'inversione nell'impiego degli strati di mattoni colorati rispetto al *Deus Rediculus*. In quest'ultimo, infatti, i pilastri decorativi - compresi quelli dell'attico con dentellatura liscia - sono in mattoni rossi mentre le pareti, i capitelli, le basi e le modanature sono di colore giallo.

Descrizione dell'edificio

a. Podio/piano inferiore, cella inferiore

Il podio con la cella inferiore misura 6,28 o 6,41 m x 10,26 m, ad un'altezza (bordo superiore) di circa 2,30 m sopra l'attuale livello della via Appia. L'accesso alla cella inferiore si trova oggi, come in origine, sul retro dell'edificio a sud ovest. Nello spazio rettangolare sotto la cella superiore non sono state trovate tracce di *pavimentum*. Probabilmente la cella inferiore, oggi murata, è coperta da una volta a crociera appiattita o ad arco ribassato. E' comunque assicurato il passaggio attraverso una piccola stanza sotto l'ampia scalinata che dalla via Appia conduce al livello della cella superiore. In questo stretto spazio - come già osservato nel *Deus Rediculus*³¹ - si potrebbe anche entrare. Lo spazio è coperto da una volta a botte che nella zona di passaggio descrive un lunettone, per garantire l'altezza necessaria. La presenza di una finestrella sul muro laterale sud-orientale dimostra che questo piccolo spazio veniva utilizzato (fig. 7). A favore dell'utilizzo della cella inferiore depongono quindi l'ingresso a nord ovest, il collegamento col piano superiore

attraverso uno spazio sotto le scale, nonché l'illuminazione e l'aerazione tramite una finestra.

Analizzando i monumenti funebri a tempio in relazione alla funzione del podio si presume che la cella superiore - come già ricordato - fosse riservata alle statue dei congiunti più stretti dei proprietari delle tombe ed eventualmente anche a sarcofagi, altari ed al culto.³² Ne consegue che la cella inferiore era destinata ad altre sepolture, alla deposizione di urne cinerarie, panche in marmo con ollari per coloro che appartenevano alla cerchia familiare, ma in ogni caso si trattava di corridoi funebri di dimensioni ridotte.

b. La scalinata per la cella superiore

Per la ricostruzione della scalinata si possono usare come riferimento due modelli di tombe a tempio conservati presso il museo della Civiltà Romana.³³ Si tratta del *Deus Rediculus*, classico quadriportico con ampia scalinata e montanti sporgenti, e del Tempio della Fortuna muliebre, senza colonne ma circondato su ogni lato da quattro pilastri e con una scalinata stretta tra i pilastri centrali della facciata.³⁴ Nel modello del *Deus Rediculus* si nota che l'ampia scalinata sporge oltre i montanti e in questo punto gli scalini si allargano anche lateralmente.³⁵ Tale soluzione potrebbe essere ipotizzabile anche per l'edificio che stiamo considerando, dato che esso, come mostrano le incisioni del Canina (figg. 1, 2), mantiene una sufficiente distanza dal ciglio della strada. Un indizio a favore della soluzione della scalinata più ridotta potrebbe essere invece costituito dai resti dell'originale strato di mattoni che si estende per 93-98 cm oltre i montanti della scala (figg. 12-13, veduta). In ogni caso dobbiamo immaginarci una scalinata ripida, come avveniva di frequente nell'antichità. Questo confermerebbe l'ensemble molto bello del dettaglio di questo edificio che si trova nella pubblicazione del Canina *Gli edifici ...*³⁶ e che tuttavia non è annesso al presente testo dato che i montanti non sono chiaramente visibili e suggeriscono una scala 'semi stretta'.

Che la soluzione con le scale più strette nello spazio dell'intercolumnio non sia del tutto errata lo mostrano gli schizzi del codice Desailleur nella Kunstbibliothek di Berlino, f. 67v. (fig. 14), che riflettono il pensiero degli architetti rinascimentali. Tuttavia non è possibile stabilire in maniera soddisfacente come le scale fossero effettivamente e se sui montanti fossero presenti decorazioni plastiche come ad esempio vasi decorativi o figure di sentinelle.

Dal punto di vista architettonico sarebbe possibile anche ipotizzare una ricostruzione con 4

colonne prostile sul fronte (cfr. figg. 9, 13) sull'esempio del *Deus Rediculus*, dato che l'attacco della volta a botte sul muro esterno dello stretto spazio trasversale è allo stesso tempo adatto a fare da base per le colonne e sorretto e dai sostegni della scala.

c. Livello superiore, cella superiore

La tomba a tempio vera e propria è la cella superiore, uno spazio quasi quadrato coperto da volta a crociera. La volta è costituita da due botti che si intersecano, una delle quali è posta un po' più alta rispetto all'altra (fig. 9). Nei pennacchi sono visibili, nella parte superiore del muro, resti di rivestimento in stucco, dove grandi frammenti di stucco sono caduti dalla calotta della nicchia a nord ovest. Resti di un bordo bianco in marmo nell'angolo sud est fanno ipotizzare la presenza di un rivestimento marmoreo nella parte inferiore delle pareti. Ad occhio si può dunque ricostruire un elegante allestimento interno. Il muro di fronte all'ingresso mostra, dietro l'alto arco di sostegno restaurato, una grande nicchia rettangolare con volta a botte e lunette ed una lavorazione liscia di forma rettangolare profonda circa 5 cm. Questa lavorazione potrebbe essere servita in origine per la sistemazione di un'iscrizione, ma potrebbe essere anche moderna. All'incirca al centro di ciascuno dei muri laterali si trovano delle nicchie con stucchi, un tempo decorate da un motivo a conchiglia. Le nicchie, che partono a circa 70 cm dal pavimento, servivano molto probabilmente per accogliere statue di divinità o dei defunti. Sull'eventuale presenza di sarcofagi non sappiamo nulla. Edifici del II secolo comparabili a questo presentano, oltre alle nicchie laterali, anche una nicchia principale in linea con l'ingresso. Poiché chiaramente qualcosa del genere manca fin dall'origine nel nostro caso, si potrebbe pensare alla presenza di una base più ampia e rialzata destinata ad un gruppo scultoreo.³⁷

È da notare che non solo le misure della parte anteriore differiscono rispetto a quelle della parte posteriore ma anche che l'allestimento dei muri laterali si differenzia: le nicchie non sono disposte alla stessa distanza l'una dall'altra (figg. 3, 4). Poco al disotto dell'attacco della volta si trovano due finestre sul lato sud est e solo una sulla parete a nord ovest, decorate con sobrii profili in terracotta (figg. 7-10). Entrambe le finestre originali a sud est presentano un bordo giallo mentre quella a nord è stata restaurata. Tutto fa pensare che già la costruzione originale sia stata progettata e realizzata in maniera sobria. Inoltre l'edificio ha subito più volte

consistenti aggiunte che spesso creano confusione. In quale misura queste aggiunte possano essere attribuite al Canina resta una questione aperta.

d. Differenze tra il *Deus Rediculus* e tomba a tempio Nr. 35

Si è accennato ad alcune somiglianze tra questo edificio ed il *Deus Rediculus* ad esempio nell'alternanza cromatica (seppure invertita) o nella pianta. Tuttavia esistono tra di essi anche rilevanti differenze nelle rispettive strutture. Per queste ragioni si ritiene opportuno un confronto più dettagliato tra le due costruzioni.

Nonostante evidenti somiglianze nella pianta e nell'alzato, le differenze tra i due edifici restano di non poco conto.

Innanzitutto nella tomba in esame va sottolineata la mancanza dei pilastri lungo le pareti. Ulteriori differenze sostanziali si riscontrano, ad esempio, nell'architrave che ha un unico bordo arrotondato e presenta come elementi decorativi piccole mensole ciascuna costituita da tre pietre verticali lavorate a geison orizzontale e obliquo; e ancora nella mancanza di decorazioni in terracotta. La semplificazione delle pietre lavorate dei capitelli in stile corinzio (fig. 11, ca 10 strati) rimanda per contro a quella del *Deus Rediculus*, che, dal canto suo, già mostra un ridimensionamento rispetto ai capitelli di terracotta 'corintizzanti' dell'ordine di pilastri inferiore del Sepolcro Barberini sulla via Latina (circa 12 strati).³⁸

La semplificazione e la mancanza di decorazione coincide con l'abbandono della classica tipologia a tempio e questo dà ragione di credere che la tomba Nr. 35 sia databile alla fine del II secolo o eventualmente all'inizio dell'epoca severiana. In ogni caso è sicuramente successiva al *Deus Rediculus* che, per alcuni indizi storici e artistici, va collocato cronologicamente in età antonina, intorno al 160 d.C. In base alle attuali conoscenze la tomba Nr. 35 segna dunque la fine della topologia classica delle tombe a tempio come pure la fine del periodo - relativamente breve - della sperimentazione dell'alternanza cromatica di mattoni e pietre lavorate su capitelli corinzi, fregi dentellati e geisa.

Altre ricostruzioni dell'edificio da parte del Canina³⁹ a questo punto devono essere accantonate per le loro integrazioni fantasiose. Tra queste una, tuttavia, merita di essere citata: la decorazione dell'interno da parte del Canina non solo con stucchi ma anche con pitture. Questo tipo di decorazione non è da escludere, seppure in forma semplificata, per la zona al di sopra del basamento, ma resta in ogni caso solo un'ipotesi.

2. Monumento funebre 'laterizio I' (De Rossi Nr. 45)

L'edificio 'laterizio I' è significativo sotto due diversi punti di vista per la storia dell'architettura funeraria romana.⁴⁰ Si tratta di una tomba in mattoni su due piani a forma di torre di 8,75 x 5,60 m. (figg. 15, 16) ed appartiene dunque al gruppo di 'edifici in laterizio su più livelli'.⁴¹ Qui fanno la loro comparsa piani superiori come strutture chiuse con architetture ornamentali, come nel caso degli edifici della via Latina, oggi parte del Parco Archeologico delle tombe dalla via Latina (via dell'Arco di Travertino).⁴² La seconda particolarità che lo contraddistingue è costituita dalla presenza di decorazioni moderne realizzate con elementi di spoglio antichi.⁴³

Entrambi i livelli sono coperti da volte a crociera.⁴⁴ Sulla facciata sono collocati grossi blocchi profilati (Crepidine) in peperino locale, addossati ad una sorta di rampa che originariamente non facevano parte dell'edificio. Probabilmente si tratta di blocchi sottratti dall'ustrino che si trovava verosimilmente nei pressi del V miglio.⁴⁵

In tempi moderni l'edificio ha subito molte modifiche sia a causa del suo reimpiego sia per gli interventi di restauro cui è stato sottoposto. L'aspetto odierno, con il muro ampiamente visibile (un tempo parte posteriore del pronao e lato d'ingresso) e i numerosi frammenti marmorei (fig. 16) - la cui progressiva scomparsa a causa del vandalismo e dell'incuria è visibile di anno in anno - è opera dei restauri del Canina. Una veduta di Carlo Labruzzi precedente al restauro ci fornisce semplicemente un'immagine pittorica del monumento tra le rovine della via Appia.⁴⁶

Nel presente studio, che si occupa di rovine archeologiche, la conservazione di resti architettonici storici nello stato in cui sono giunti fino a noi, rimane in primo piano. Applicando questo metodo, scompare il punto di vista storico artistico sulle rovine di un edificio, di modo che la conservazione di una ricostruzione non archeologica ma storico-artistica possa essere intesa come ricezione. Non va infatti dimenticato che i metodi di restauro del Canina erano, per i suoi tempi, originali ed eccezionalmente moderni e che svolsero un ruolo guida per i suoi contemporanei.

Nel caso di questo edificio, la ricostruzione del Canina è sicuramente moderna ma non attendibile.⁴⁷ All'esterno, sul lato sud est del piano superiore, si riconosce una chiara sequenza cromatica descritta dall'alternanza di tre pilastri in mattoni rossi con le pareti gialle; uno dei pilastri è stato rovinato dall'apertura di una finestra moderna. Chiaramente visibile però è la possibile ricostru-

zione di un quarto pilastro nell'angolo sud ovest. Si tratta di un piano inferiore o podio a livello della strada, dal punto di vista della tecnica muraria non articolato e cromaticamente neutro che diverge nettamente, con i suoi semplici bordi, dal piano superiore caratterizzato dal gioco di colori. Il Canina ricostruisce, in una fantasiosa composizione, un piano superiore con quattro pilastri che si chiude sulla facciata con un muro che egli stesso ha decorato con frammenti marmorei. Il pronao, doveva trovarsi al piano inferiore in corrispondenza della facciata, il Canina lo disegna nella pianta e propone come utilizzo per i piccoli spazi laterali - almeno per l'angolo sud est - una scala che va verso l'alto e che in realtà non conduce in nessun luogo. Per questo motivo va accantonata la ricostruzione del Canina, sicuramente affascinante, con frontone in terracotta.

All'interno dell'edificio sono state trovate delle tombe alla cappuccina e delle urne cinerarie. Il piano superiore era raggiungibile tramite una scala che ora non esiste più; una nicchia ancora visibile è moderna. Non è più possibile ricostruire l'aspetto originario dell'ingresso alla cella inferiore o il podio sul lato strada. Lo spazio destinato effettivamente alle sepolture era certamente una piccola anticamera con volta a botte; l'attacco della volta è ancora visibile nella sua forma originale nell'angolo nord ovest (fig. 15). Questo pronao aveva l'altezza del piano inferiore e con ogni probabilità era coronato da un frontone di mattoni e pietre lavorate. Si sono conservati anche gli angoli del pronao. L'eventuale chiusura dello spazio a mezzo di due colonne prostile, come nella veduta della Tomba dei Valerii (c.d. Tomba bianca) sulla via Latina, è discutibile. Non va dimenticato, tra l'altro, che l'attuale aspetto della tomba dei Valerii non corrisponde a quello originale, ma è anch'esso frutto di una ricostruzione del XIX secolo.⁴⁸

Nonostante le varie problematiche, questo edificio funebre su due piani va datato alla fine del II secolo d.C. Dato che l'isometria esistente del monumento 'laterizio I'⁴⁹ non pare essere decisiva per una sua precisa ricostruzione e considerato che un nuovo rilievo, seppure auspicabile, avrebbe certamente dei costi non proporzionati rispetto al peso dei risultati cui potrebbe condurre, tanto per cominciare si potrebbe suggerire di condurre studi più approfonditi su altri edifici simili di laterizio a questo: *desiderata* di ricerca che potrebbero portare alla ridefinizione ed alla correzione delle isometrie esistenti.

3. Monumento funebre 'Laterizio II' (De Rossi Nr 46)

Un analogo modo di procedere si suggerisce per il monumento funerario 'laterizio II'.⁵⁰ Si tratta di un edificio in mattoni a tre piani con una superficie di 8,75 x 5,60 m (figg. 17-20) o eventualmente un edificio a due piani con livello interrato. La camera funebre inferiore a pian terreno, nel podio o cella inferiore, così come lo spazio che si trova al livello sottostante, sotto la scalinata del lato strada a sud est, era originariamente accessibile dal lato posteriore ed oggi è murato.

La cella superiore era raggiungibile attraverso una scala stretta il cui inizio è ancora visibile a sud est (figg. 17, 19) ed è ben riconoscibile perché il podio ad essa adiacente presenta ancora la muratura originaria. Si sono conservati anche un bordo ed un sobrio fregio dentellato che segnano chiaramente il passaggio alla costruzione della cella superiore (fig. 19). La muratura a vista è di buona fattura. Il sottile strato di malta tra le file di mattoni, quasi completamente di colore giallo chiaro, è indice tanto di un accurato rivestimento dell'opera cementizia quanto della fine della fase di sperimentazione con i mattoni colorati. Sul lato nord è murato un grande cornicione in marmo con un grande buco quadrato; il profilo mostra da sopra a sotto una modanatura a gola dritta (*cyma recta*) e fasci con anathyrosis (45 x 148 x 26 cm).

Dato che questo edificio funebre si colloca nella tradizione delle tombe policrome come il vicino 'laterizio I' si può considerare parte di questo gruppo di edifici in mattoni su più piani e allo stesso modo si può datare alla fine del II secolo d.C.

La torre medievale si presenta verso il lato strada con muratura di pietra rasa a vista e mostra, come nell'edificio originale, le stesse feritoie della cella superiore. Sul retro del monumento sono stati portati alla luce vari resti di muratura 'addossata alla struttura ed estesi oltre di macera' (Mazzotta, *Giornale di scavo*, cit.), dei quali finora non è stata data alcuna spiegazione (fig. 21). Si tratta di alcuni piccoli ambienti con due differenti mosaici pavimentali a decorazioni geometriche in bianco e nero⁵¹ che, secondo Griesbach, in base al loro soggetto si collegano con l'architettura delle ville, ma che tuttavia ipoteticamente sarebbero potuti appartenere anche ai *solaria*, terrazze, spazi o superfici destinate ai banchetti in onore dei defunti.⁵²

III. ARCHITETTURA IN MATTONI COLORATI

Il fenomeno della policromia nelle costruzioni in mattoni del II secolo d.C. è stato già trattato diffusamente dall'autrice di questo testo in merito al

Deus Rediculus ed alle tombe ad esso tipologicamente affini.⁵³ A distanza di circa 40 anni queste argomentazioni vanno completate con alcune osservazioni.

Va innanzitutto menzionata la *Posterula Ardeatina*, un porta in mattoni nelle mura Aureliane della metà del II secolo che in tempi recenti è stata studiata in maniera molto dettagliata da C. Marra, ma i cui colori non hanno attirato l'attenzione dell'autore o non sono stati da lui considerati degni di menzione.⁵⁴ Sullo sfondo della Villa dei Quintili si trova un altro edificio in mattoni la cui destinazione ci è sconosciuta e il cui esterno è caratterizzato da contrasti cromatici degni di nota.

Un'eccezione è certamente costituita dalla tomba Nr. 41 (De Rossi) lungo la via Appia. Questo edificio funerario discretamente conservato mostra una peculiarità che lo distingue da tutti gli altri monumenti in mattoni colorati: in questo caso i giochi di colori si trovano all'interno.⁵⁵ L'ingresso dell'edificio si trova sul lato nord. Sul bordo del basamento si notano 11 strati di mattoni disposti in modo irregolare e con file di chiodi; poggia su una base sottile. A nord-est, rivolto verso la strada, è costruito il muro a vista con sottili strati di malta di 0,2 cm. Nell'angolo sud-est si trova, al livello del muro, un pilastro rosso intersecato con lo strato giallo di mattoni del lato orientale. I muri interni sono privi di intonaco. Mostrano la struttura della pittura del secondo stile nei colori propri dei mattoni rossi e gialli con sottili strati di malta. Su un basamento alto 78 cm in mattoni rossi si susseguono pilastri (alti 1,18 e larghi 18 cm) a livello del muro - dunque solo un effetto ottico - che come la pittura, non sono in rilievo. Le superfici murarie gialle tra i pilastri misurano 73,5 cm. Sulla superficie muraria inferiore così strutturata, seguono un fregio rosso e poi di nuovo uno giallo. La struttura con quattro pilastri all'interno della tomba Nr. 41 è paragonabile con i muri esterni del *Deus Rediculus* e quelli del livello superiore del monumento 'laterizio I' ed è quindi come essi databile alla fine del II secolo d.C. Finora non sono noti altri esempi simili a questa decorazione muraria interna.

Excursus: *Colombario costantiniano, una tomba a tempio nella valle della Caffarella*

A questo gruppo di monumenti appartiene, tra gli altri, anche la tomba a tempio del c.d. Colombario costantiniano che viene menzionata assieme ad altri in questa occasione poiché si trova nelle vicinanze della via Appia e di Capo di Bove e perché anch'essa rappresenta la tipologia di *templum in antis*, richiamando l'attenzione sui

collegamenti esistenti tra la rete di necropoli del suburbio.⁵⁶

Il dibattito riguardante la forma e significato della tipologia di sepoltura a tempio e le sue possibili varianti, insieme alle osservazioni sugli edifici in mattoni nella zona del V miglio della via Appia antica, è tutt'altro che chiuso. Il monumento funerario in mattoni già ricordato sito nella valle dell'Almone⁵⁷ e noto con il nome di Colombario costantiniano, già proprietà di A. Gerini, appartiene senza dubbio a questo gruppo di edifici ma presenta tante particolarità che - come tutte le altre tombe a tempio - avrebbe bisogno di un approfondimento a parte.

Si tratta di un edificio in mattoni di due piani in cortina della tipologia a tempio con tracce di colore, usato in epoca medievale come mulino e restaurato nel 1999. In occasione di recenti scavi che hanno portato alla luce alcune aree, è stato osservato un colombario di forma circolare ad esso adiacente ed alcuni dispositivi idraulici, che non destano meraviglia nelle vicinanze dell'Acqua santa.⁵⁸

La costruzione rettangolare risponde alla tipologia della sepoltura a tempio con una cella inferiore simile ad un podio, illuminata attraverso delle grate e uno stretto ingresso a nord est. La cella superiore (4,96 x 4,30) ha una volta a crociera ed è raggiungibile con una scalinata. L'ingresso tramite scala è certo, mentre resta discutibile la possibile presenza di colonne *in antis*.

Questa piccola costruzione, oggi un po' defilata, fa ritenere che le grandi strade d'accesso alla città di Roma, come ad esempio la via Appia e la via Latina, fossero collegate tra di loro. Il Colombario costantiniano dovrebbe trovarsi all'altezza del Parco Archeologico della via Latina ed in corrispondenza degli edifici al III e IV miglio. Presso la tomba E della via Latina⁵⁹ si può notare una strada lastricata che va in direzione della via Appia. Questo significherebbe che esiste un legame tra i monumentali edifici in mattoni nel suburbio e potrebbe supportare felicemente il nostro attuale ed isolato modo di vedere in merito a questi stessi monumenti.

IV. CONCLUSIONI

Il saggio su alcuni monumenti nella zona del V miglio della via Appia antica mostra quanto possano essere importanti e illuminanti ulteriori studi monografici che forniscano una visione d'insieme sulla 'Gräberstrasse'. Inoltre la tipologia di monumento funerario romano a tempio, finora non descritta in maniera esauriente, dovrebbe

essere nuovamente oggetto di studi così come dovrebbe essere ripresa la questione dei colori nell'architettura. In occasione dei nuovi scavi nel suburbio di Roma le strade di collegamento tra le diverse aree destinate alle sepolture saranno rilevate con maggior precisione ed incluse nella rete delle misurazioni.

NOTE

- ¹ Si ringrazia in particolare Roberta Pecchia per i rilievi della tomba a tempietto sita vicino a via degli Euginii ed il supporto scientifico della Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma sotto la guida di Rita Paris con la collaborazione di Antonella Rotondi. Ringrazio inoltre Luigia Attilia, Rens de Hond, Sylvia Diebner, Thomas Fröhlich, Adolf Hofmann, Fedora Filippi, Stephan Mols, Eric M. Moormann, Margarete Schützenberger e Maaike van Solingen. A Klaus A.E. Kammerer va il mio ringraziamento per l'analisi architettonica e costruttiva nonché la ricostruzione della pianta della tomba a tempietto che Wim Verbeiren a Gent ha adattato alla stampa. Il testo è stato tradotto in italiano da D. Lanzuolo.
- ² Canina 1853, 96-122; Pinza 1907, 191-230.
- ³ Hesberg 1992.
- ⁴ Heinzelmann 2000.
- ⁵ Feraudi-Gruénais 2001, 153-154; Griesbach 2007, 183 Kat. 78.79 usa il termine *Grabtempel* (tempio funerario) per tipologia tra di loro del tutto differenti.
- ⁶ Flämig 2007, 3-6.
- ⁷ Berns 2003.
- ⁸ In genere: Hesberg/Zanker 1987.
- ⁹ Filetici/Paris 2000, 20-25; Filetici/D'Agostino 2000, 42-45; Filetici/Pasquali 2000, 183-188; Filetici/Albert/Paris/Santoro 2004, 173-182.
- ¹⁰ Filetici/Pasquali 2000, 183-188.
- ¹¹ Kammerer-Grothaus 2000, 348, n. 28, figg. 11,12.
- ¹² Rotondi 2010, 152 e n. 21.
- ¹³ Filetici/Pasquali 2000, 183-188.
- ¹⁴ Luigi Canina (1795-1856) architetto teorico di architettura e archeologo, era uno dei rappresentanti più influenti del neo classicismo a Roma. - *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 18 (1975) 96-101 (W. Oechslin); Saur, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* 16 (1997) 149-150 (N.B.); Baione 2011, 183-191. - Il suo lascito si trova oggi nei seguenti archivi: Archivio di Stato di Roma, Ministero del Commercio, Belle Arti...1855-1870; Archivio di Stato di Torino, Archivio Canina; Biblioteca municipale, Casale Monferrato, Fondo Canina. Vgl. Stiftung Bibliothek Werner Oechslin (Einsiedeln); Sistri 1995.
- ¹⁵ Vgl. Via Appia: Casal Rotondo, Sepolcro di Q. Apuleius Pamphilus (De Rossi, Nr. 34; Canina 1853, 111), 'Laterizio I' (De Rossi, Nr. 45) u.a.
- ¹⁶ Rotondi 2010, 148-152.
- ¹⁷ Sistri 1995; Baione 2010, 183-191.
- ¹⁸ Kammerer-Grothaus 2011, 101-103 fig. 9 (Inst. Neg DAI Rom 56.875)
- ¹⁹ Feraudi-Gruénais 2001, 153; prima testimonianza della tecnica in età tardo-repubblicana e inizio impero è il monumento per il console Aulus Hirtius del 43 a.C. - In genere: Crema 1959, 136; Adam 1984.
- ²⁰ Paris/Mazzotto/Naccarato 2013, 275-331.
- ²¹ Paris/Mazzotto/Naccarato 2013, 305-306 fig. 34. - Non sono stati presi in considerazione le ricerche di Flämig

2007, 93-98 (le sepolture di Erode Attico e di membri della sua famiglia) e di Griesbach 2007, 32-41 e neanche la proposta di ricostruzione di Kammerer-Grothaus 1974, 147 fig. 1. Del gruppo della cariatidi erodiani (da Loukou nel MMN di Atene) si occupa O. Palagia (Pubblicazione in presentazione per gli scitti in onore di Manolis Korres). Tanto più importante è il nuovo ritrovamento sulla via Appia in un punto topograficamente così eccellente.

- ²² Gli scavi e gli ampi restauri furono eseguiti dalla Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma sotto la guida di Rita Paris.
- ²³ Calza 1940 Abb. 6,18,27; Hesberg 1992, 182-192; Heinzelmann 2000, 76-79; Borg 2013, 210-220.
- ²⁴ Wrede 1982, 80-88.
- ²⁵ Hommel 1954.
- ²⁶ Hesberg 1992, 182-188.
- ²⁷ Piranesi 1756, tav. II 47; Ripostelli/Marucchi 1908, 214-215 Nr. 5,1 Abb. 218; De Rossi 1968, 314 fig. 37 (prima del restauro); Quilici 1969, Nr. 1227-1230; Kammerer-Grothaus 1974, 208-209, Tav. 124, 1,2; Quilici 1977, 69-70 fig. 21; Adam 1984, 161; Coarelli 1986, 51; Quilici 1989, 47 Taf. 3; *LTURSub I* (2001) 120 Fig. 106 (pianta ADSAR inv. 311222) s.v. Appia via (S. Mineo); Spera/Mineo 2004, 133 Nr. 124 fig. 126; Griesbach 2007, 182-183, Tav. 16,1 (TKat. Nr. 76).
- ²⁸ Labruzzi ca 1794, Tav. 43 (S. Maria nuova quarto del balachino' (?), Avanzi di Roma Vecchia').
- ²⁹ Canina 1856, tav. XXVIII.
- ³⁰ Kammerer-Grothaus 1974, 131-252.
- ³¹ Kammerer-Grothaus 1974, 164, fig. 3.
- ³² Vgl. Hesberg 1992, 182-186.
- ³³ Kammerer-Grothaus 1974, Tav. 117, 1.
- ³⁴ Kammerer-Grothaus 1974, Tav. 126, 1-4.
- ³⁵ Invece nella ricostruzione di Kammerer-Grothaus 1974, fig. 5 chiusura con la parete della scala.
- ³⁶ Canina 1856, Vol. VI, Tav. 29.
- ³⁷ Vgl. Hesberg 186 fig. 117.
- ³⁸ Kammerer-Grothaus 1974, Taf. 122,3. In genere: Feraudi-Gruénais 2001, 104 K 46.
- ³⁹ Vgl. Crema 1959, 494 fig. 638.
- ⁴⁰ Piranesi 1756, Taf. VIII; Canina 1853, Taf. 31; Leone/Staderini 1907, 177; Ripostelli/Marucchi 1908, 232-233 Nr. 5,18 (figg. a p. 216, 230, 231, 235); Castagnoli 1956, fig. 46; Crema, 1959, figg. 636, 637 (nach Canina 1856); *EAA VI* (1965) 876 fig. 100 s.v. Roma (M.Torelli/F. Zevi); De Rossi 1968, 324 Nr. 45 fig. 48; De Rossi 1969, 26 Nr. 11 fig. 23; Quilici 1969, Nr. 1231; Castagnoli/Colini/Macchia 1972, fig. 99; Kammerer-Grothaus 1974, 209-210 Tav. 124,4; Quilici 1977, 73 fig. 27, Ashby-Kat. Campagna 1986, 150 Nr. 113 fig. 2 (R. Turchetti); *LTUR-Sub I* (2001) s.v. Appia via (S. Mineo) fig. 117; Marcelli 2003, 54-55, fig. 10.1; De Rossi 1969, 26, Nr. 11 fig. 23, Spera/Mineo 2004, 138 Nr. 139 fig. 133-134; Griesbach 2007, 183 Tav. 16,1 (TKat. Nr. 78).
- ⁴¹ Feraudi-Gruénais 2001, 153-154.
- ⁴² Feraudi-Gruénais 2001, 104-114 K 46-K 48.
- ⁴³ Forse la definizione 'spolia' è esagerata in questo contesto, visto che si tratta piuttosto di pezzi, non tanto di frammenti architettonici o figurali riconoscibili, come furono riadoperati in modo molto bello nell'architettura medievale. Nei tempi del Canina a Roma questo tipo di decorazione era molto uso ed era - nello stesso tempo - anche una sorta di cura dei monumenti; cfr. il muro esterno dell'atelier dello scultore classicistico Antonio Canova (1757-1822), Via delle Colonnate.

- ⁴⁴ Vgl. Isometrie: *LTURSub I* (2001) 298 Fig. 14 (purtroppo non esatto nel disegno).
- ⁴⁵ Piranesi 1756, III, Taf. III-VII; cfr. Per la forma architettonica di un ustrinum: Rausa 1997, 41-42 fig. 2.1 (Pirro Ligorio, Neap. F. 64 v.) e cfr. 2.2 (Codex Ursianus f. 36), ambedue in prospettiva; Friedel 2010, 392 n.190; Wolf 2010, 404-433.
- ⁴⁶ Labruzzi ca 1794, Taf. 45; De Rosa/Jatta 2013, Tav. 229 Nr 54.
- ⁴⁷ Crema 1959, 494 figg. 636, 637.
- ⁴⁸ *EAA VI* (1965) 879 s.v. Roma (Torelli/Zevi); Feraudi-Gruénais 2001, 105 n. 648.
- ⁴⁹ *LTURSub I* (2002) 124 fig. 117 s.v. Appia Via (S. Mineo).
- ⁵⁰ Ripostelli/Marucchi 1908, 235 Nr. 5,19; De Rossi 1968, 324 Nr. 46 figg. 49-50; Quilici 1969, 1238; Kammerer-Grothaus 1974, 210 Tav 124.4; Quilici 1977-74 fig. 27; *LTURSub I* (2001) 124 fig. 118.119 (Isometrie) s.v. Appia via (S. Mineo); Spera/Mineo 2004, 138-139 Nr. 139 fig. 135; Griesbach 2007, 183 (TKat. 79)
- ⁵¹ *LTURSub I* (2001), Fig. 118.
- ⁵² Griesbach 2007, 183; Feraudi-Gruénais 2001, 153, n. 590.
- ⁵³ Kammerer-Grothaus 1974, spec. 199-233.
- ⁵⁴ Marra 2000, 87-98. Vgl. L. Rossi 1829, Taf. XVII; Pietrangeli 1945, 1-8.
- ⁵⁵ Kammerer-Grothaus 1974, 209 Taf. 124.3 (nord ovest).
- ⁵⁶ Kammerer-Grothaus 1974, 98,3.4; Griesbach 2007, Taf. 15,1 (TKat.Nr. 69).
- ⁵⁷ Kammerer-Grothaus 1974, 98,3.4; Griesbach 2007, Taf. 15,1 (TKat.Nr. 69).
- ⁵⁸ Vgl. Kammerer-Grothaus 1974, 149-161 e nota 146. - Montagna di marmo dell'Aquasanta = Marmorata.
- ⁵⁹ Kammerer-Grothaus 1974, Taf. 123, 1-3.

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FIGURE



Fig. 1. L. Canina, La Prima Parte (Roma 1853), veduta.

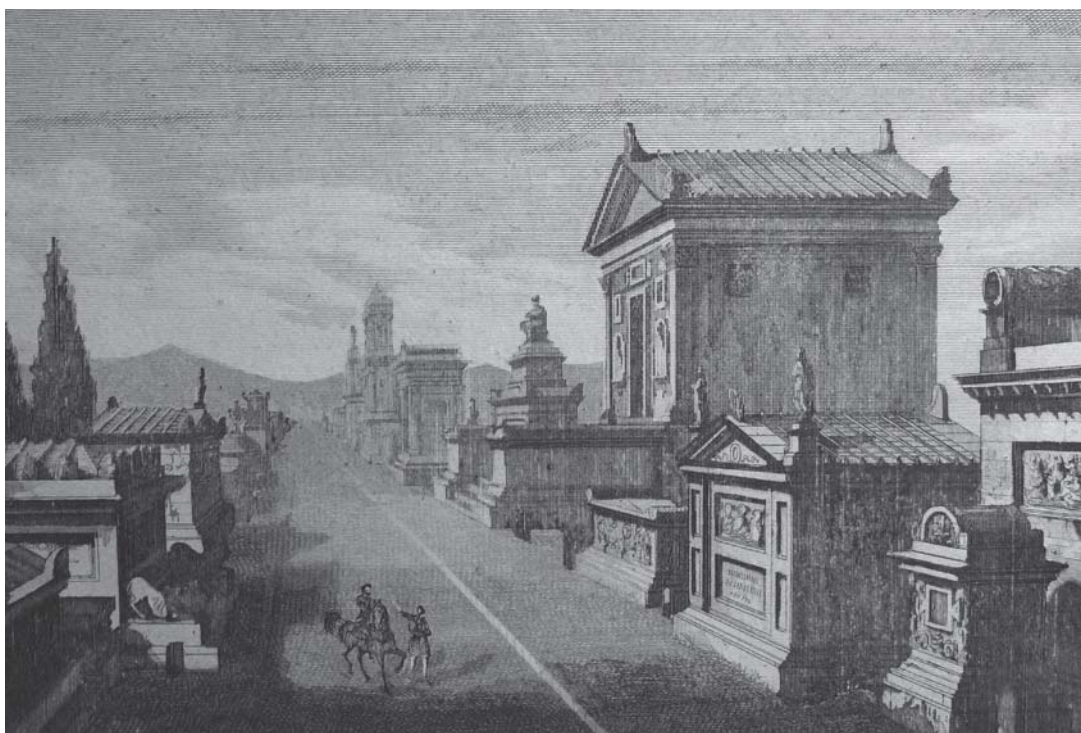


Fig. 2. L. Canina, La Prima Parte 2 (Roma 1853), ricostruzione.

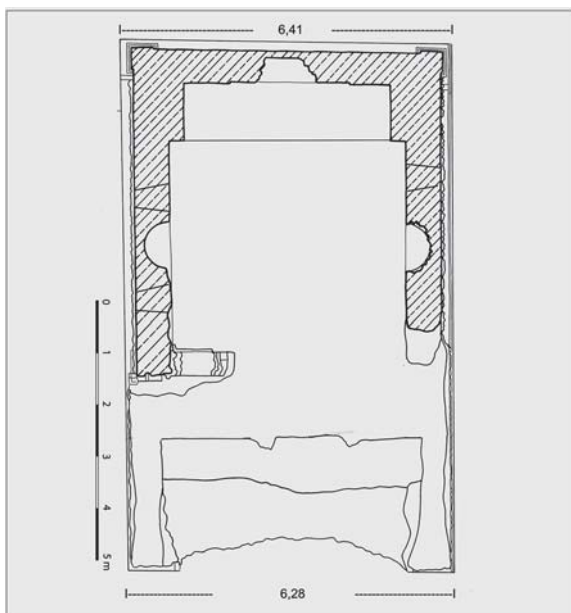


Fig. 3. Tomba a tempietto, pianta (R. Pecchia).

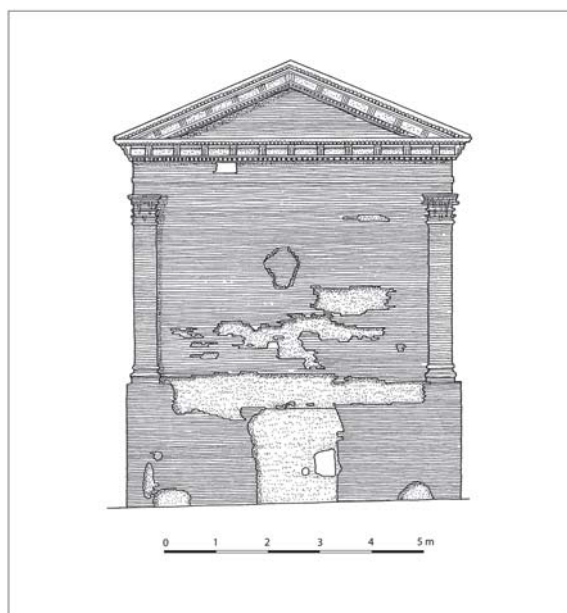


Fig. 5. Rilievo, vista posteriore (R. Pecchia).

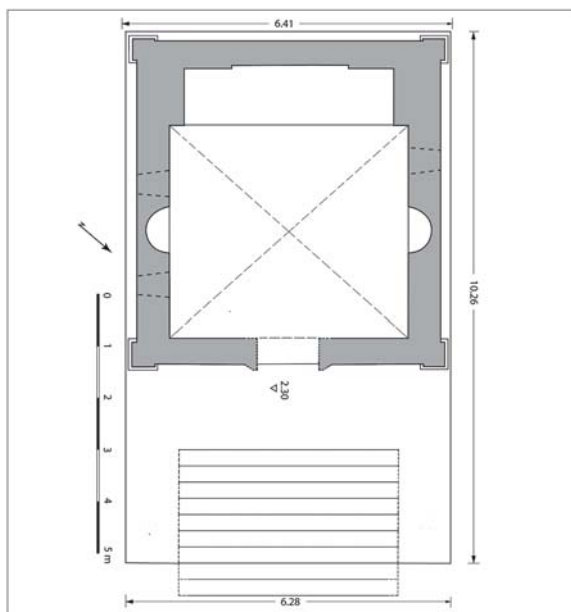


Fig. 4. Tomba a tempietto, ricostruzione (K. Kammerer).

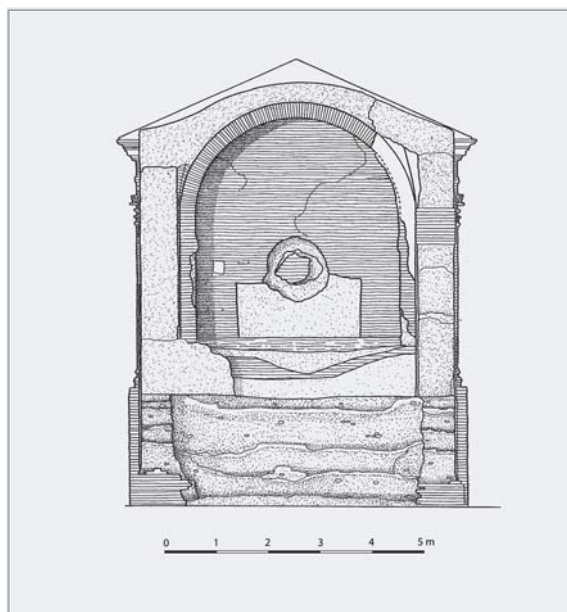


Fig. 6. Rilievo, vista frontale (R. Pecchia).

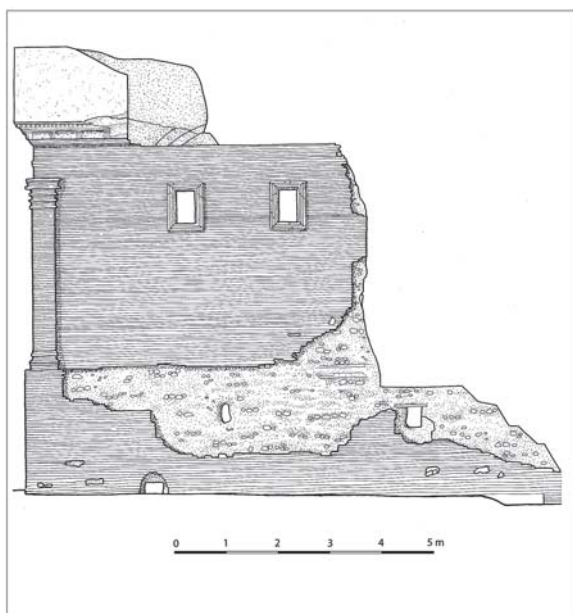


Fig. 7. Rilievo, vista longitudinale S (R. Pecchia).

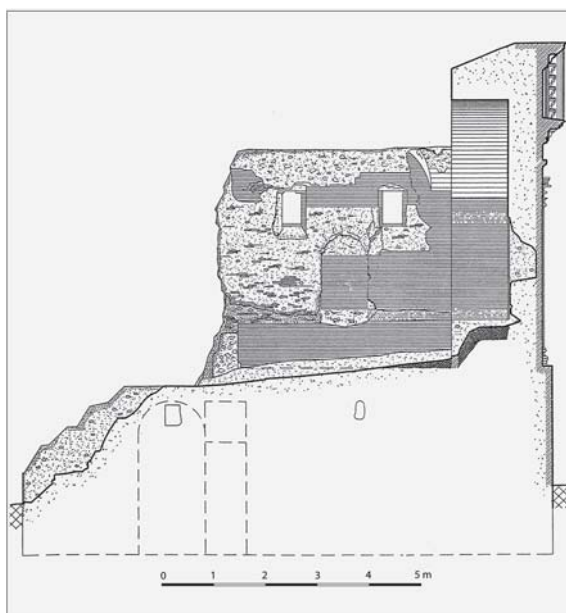


Fig. 9. Sezione longitudinale EO (R. Pecchia).

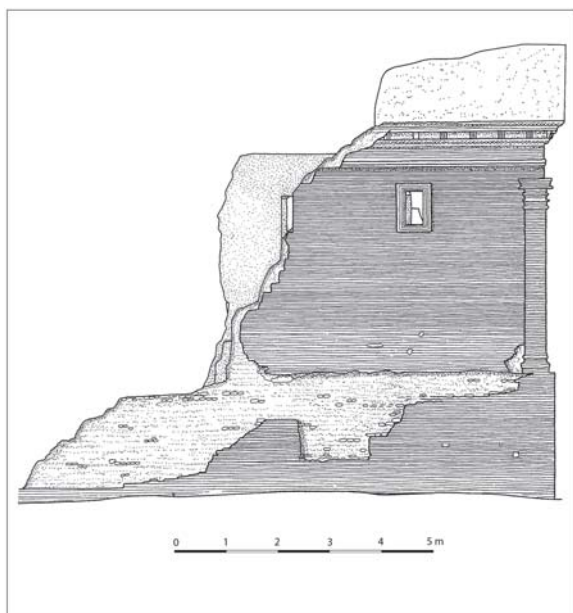


Fig. 8. Rilievo, vista longitudinale N (R. Pecchia).



Fig. 10. Tomba a tempietto; pilastro lato SO (fotografia M. van Solingen, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen).



Fig. 11. Tomba a tempietto; capitello d'angolo lato SO (fotografia H. Kammerer-Grothaus).



Fig. 12. Tomba a tempietto, vista frontale (fotografia H. Kammerer-Grothaus).



Fig. 13. Tomba a tempietto da NE verso SO (fotografia M. van Solingen, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen).

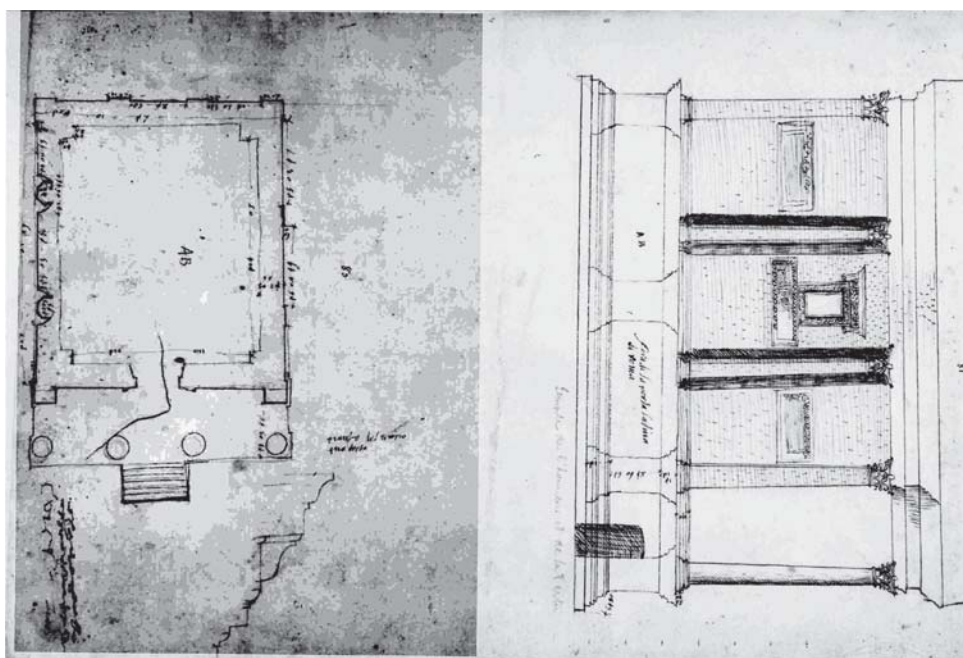


Fig. 14. *Deus Rediculus*, da Anonymus Destailleur (Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, Bl. 67 v).



Fig. 15. Tomba in laterizio, Laterizio I, pronao con inizio di volta (fotografia M. van Solingen, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen).



Fig. 16. Laterizio I, lato SO (fotografia M. van Solingen, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen).



Fig. 17. Laterizio II, muro originale e inizio di scala (fotografia M. van Solingen, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen).



Fig. 18. Laterizio II, lato SO (fotografia M. van Solingen, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen).



Fig. 19. Laterizio II, vista diagonale (fotografia M. van Solingen, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen).



Fig. 20. Laterizio II, cornice con fregio a dentelli (fotografia M. van Solingen, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen).

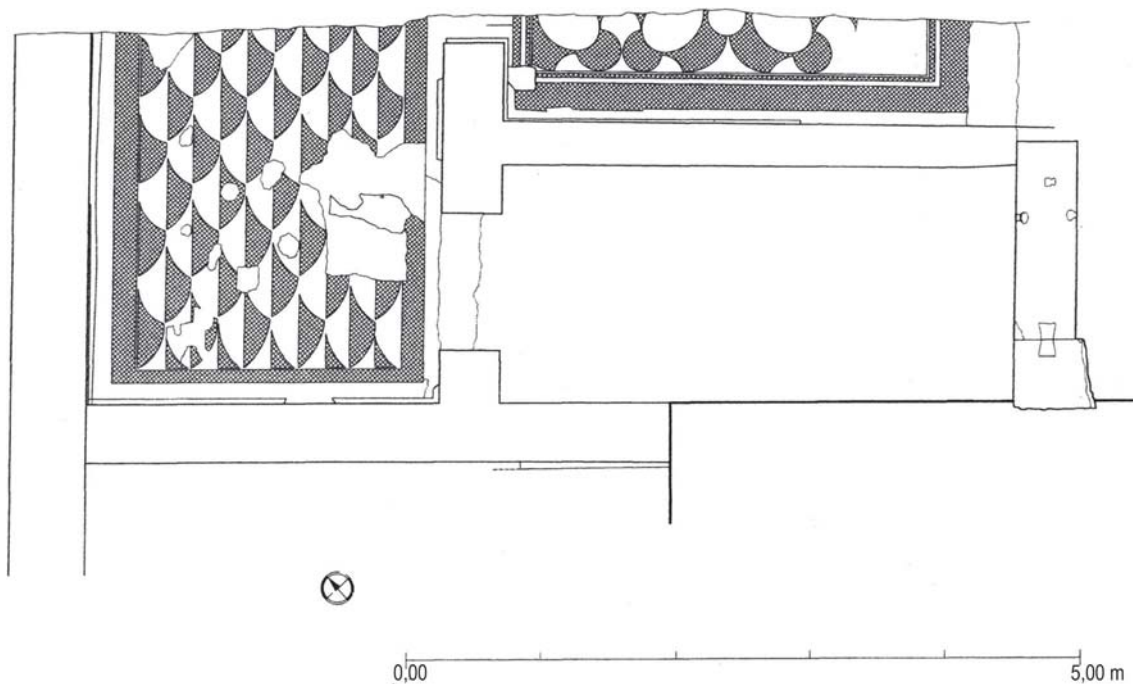


Fig. 21. Muri frammentari e mosaici a NE di Laterizio II (LTUR Subl I, 2000, 298, fig. 118).



Fig. 22. Laterizio I e II (fotografia H. Kammerer-Grothaus).

A note on the drainage of pools in Roman baths

Sadi Maréchal

Abstract

*This short note examines the difference in drainage of the cold and hot pools of Roman baths. In some hot pools, it seems that the water was drained through the half-cylindrical water container in contact with the pool (testudo alvei) or possibly through a metal heating device inserted in the bottom of the pool (a type of semi-testudo). Such a system could imply that the waste water of the hot pools may have been used to clean the furnaces. If the drain gave directly onto the furnace, the pool could only be emptied once a day, when the baths closed.**

In recent research on Roman baths, the water management has claimed a prominent position.¹ Especially supply systems such as aqueducts, water wheels and wells have been looked at with detailed attention.² The waste water disposal has only been studied in a summarily fashion, occasionally arousing interest of scholars when linked to street sewers or latrines. Emptying the baths indeed seems far less complicated than filling them. Nevertheless, a closer look at the drains of the cold and warm pools reveals different systems and creative solutions for discarding waste waters. Especially for hot pools, a drainage system through the *testudo*, the half-cylindrical metal vessels located just above the furnace that stood in connection with the bottom of a pool (fig. 1), or

possibly through a type of semi-*testudo*, might offer a solution to the apparent absence of drains. The site of Ostia, where the standing remains of bathhouses are exceptionally well preserved, offers us good evidence of such systems.

DRAINING THE COLD POOLS

Cold pools such as large *natationes* or *piscinae* could be fed with water coming directly from cisterns.³ If the capacity of the source allowed it, cold pools could even have a continuous supply directly from an aqueduct. Hence cold water pools could be quite large. The drainage of such a vast volume of water had to be ensured by large sewage channels, which were often con-

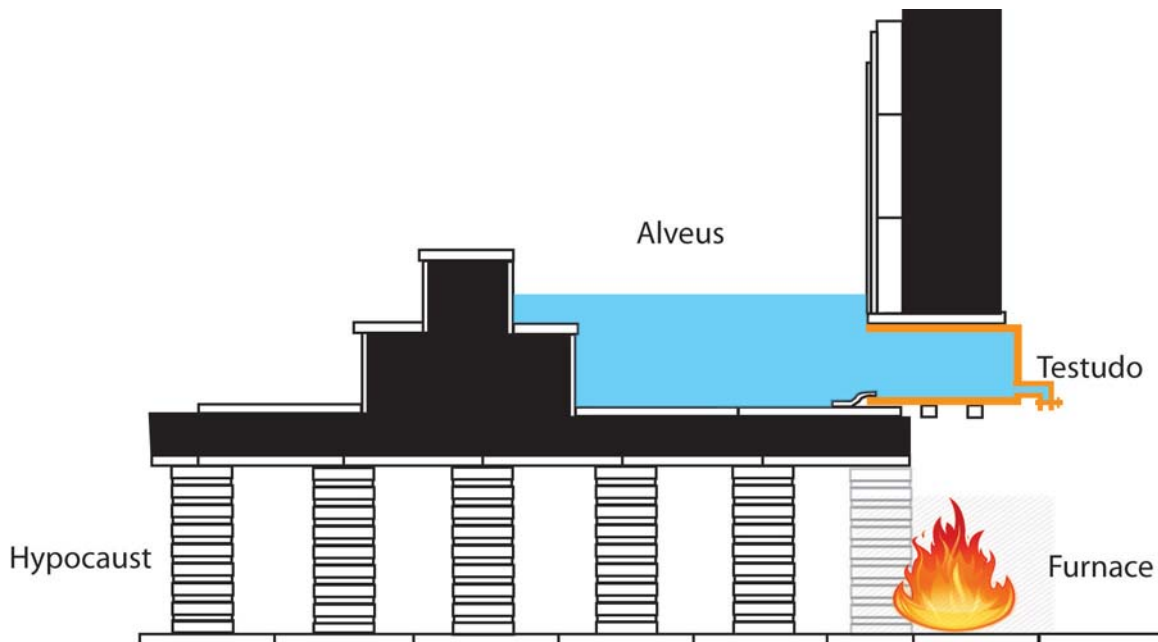


Fig. 1. Schematic drawing of a hypothetical alveus with testudo (drawing author).

nected to the sewers in the street. In an ingenious effort to reuse the waste water, the drainage channel of the cold pools could pass underneath a latrine, flushing away the excrements to the neighbouring sewers.⁴ In the exceptional case of the Baths of Caracalla in Rome, the waste waters were used to power a mill located in the subterranean service corridors of the bath complex.⁵ The actual orifice for draining the pools was obviously located at the bottom, just above the floor or in the floor itself. This pipe, in lead or in terra cotta, could be closed with a metal hinge or plugged with a terra cotta (or wooden?) stopper.⁶ It often gave into a channel running underneath the floor of the cold rooms. Such sewage channels had to be incorporated in the initial design of the baths and were one of the first features to be laid out during construction. If the bottom of the pool lay on the same level as the floor of the bathroom, the drain could give directly onto the latter (fig. 2).⁷ By sloping the floor, the waste water could be

channelled towards a drainage hole in the wall and into the street. This way, the floors of the bathrooms could be cleaned at the same time.⁸

DRAINING THE HOT POOLS

The hot pools could also be emptied by an orifice giving directly onto the suspended floor, having the advantage of cleaning away the oil and dirt that had accumulated.⁹ The waste water was then led into the cold room, where it disappeared through a drain in the floor (and into the sewage channels) or in the wall (into the street). As the elevated floor of the heated rooms (*suspensura*) made it more difficult to construct a sewer, the *alvei* were often drained by an orifice giving into a sewer running 'outside' the bathrooms, in the service corridor.¹⁰ This sewage channel could then join the sewage channels of the cold rooms or could directly connect to the street sewers.



Fig. 2. Piscina of the women's frigidarium in the Stabian Baths in Pompei, with drain directly onto the floor (photo author, May 2016).



Fig. 3. Drainage channel running from the western alveus of caldarium in the 'Terme della Trinacria' in Ostia, seen from the north (photo author, March 2015).

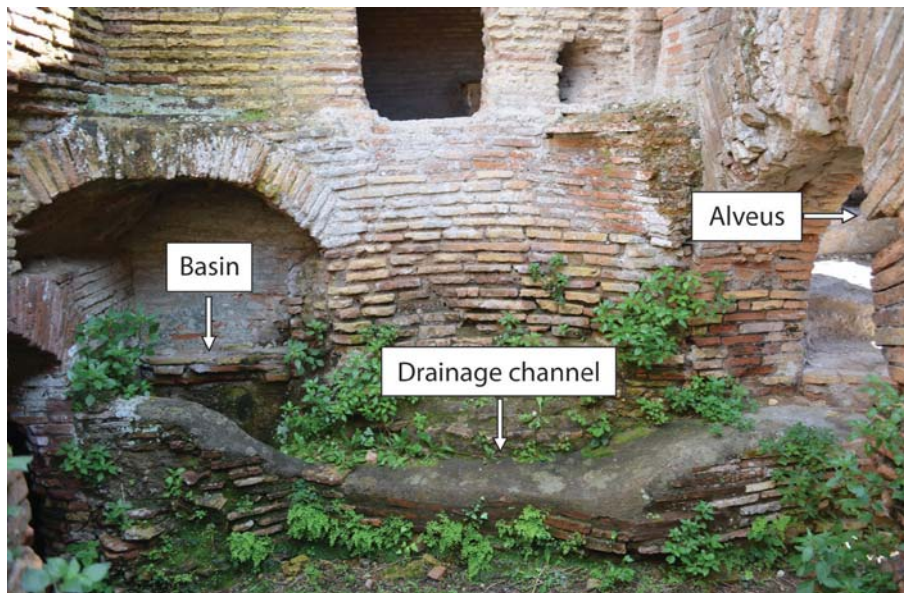


Fig. 4. Drainage channel running from the eastern alveus of the caldarium in the 'Terme del Mitra' in Ostia, seen from the north (photo author, April 2014).

In some hot pools, however, no orifice for drainage can be recognized. This may be due to the difficult archaeological visibility, as the metal *testudines alveorum* were often torn out after the baths had fallen out of use, gravely damaging the *alvei* just above the furnace.¹¹ However, this does not automatically mean that the hot pools could not be drained at all. Evidence from the hot pools in the baths at Ostia seems to suggest that an orifice could have been located in the *testudo* itself. The western *alveus* of the *caldarium* of the Terme della Trinacria is a case in point. A small channel runs from the bottom of the south end of the *alveus*, exactly where the *testudo* must have been located, down into the service corridors (fig. 3). The same can be seen for the eastern *alveus* of the *caldarium* in the Terme del Mitra. In the *praefurnium* a small channel runs from the furnace opening to a small basin, in which the waste water seems to have been collected, before disappearing into the sewer (fig. 4). The water in the small basin may have been used to clean the furnace.

When the bottom and part of the sides of the *alvei* were destroyed when a *testudo* was torn out, it is often difficult to confirm whether the orifice was in the *testudo* itself, or built into the wall just next to the *testudo*. If a small tap, perhaps with a valve, was inserted in the *testudo* (fig. 1), it would enable to empty the *alveus*. The problem with this hypothetical solution, is that tap in the bottom of the *testudo* would have been too hot to handle as

long as the fire was burning. Moreover, the point where the tap was to be connected to the *testudo* would have to be welded shut with lead solder, which could melt in direct contact with the fire. Hence the tap would have to be located on a part of the *testudo* that was not in direct contact with the fire, such as the semicircular short end on the *praefurnium* side (fig. 1). Welded taps could indeed withstand high temperatures from indirect contact with fire, as is attested by the large boilers with taps surmounting the furnaces, such as the well-known example of the Villa delle Argenterie in Boscoreale.¹² For the moment, only one example of such a *testudo* with tap has been discovered, in the Baths of Samos (Greece). Here, the tap was indeed inserted in the vertical short end of the *testudo*, a few inches above the bottom, allowing some water to remain when drained.¹³

Whether the *alvei* were drained by taps in the *testudo* or by orifices in the wall near this *testudo*, the water could subsequently be discarded by making use of open channels that have been recognized in the service corridors (figs 3-4). If no such channels were found, for example in the Baths on the Via della Foce or the small baths along the Via Marciana in Ostia, an orifice in the bottom of the pools (fig. 5) or a tap in the *testudo* may have directly spilt the waste water onto the furnace, cleaning away the ashes.¹⁴ This would mean that the pools were only emptied once a day, when the baths closed and the fire was extin-

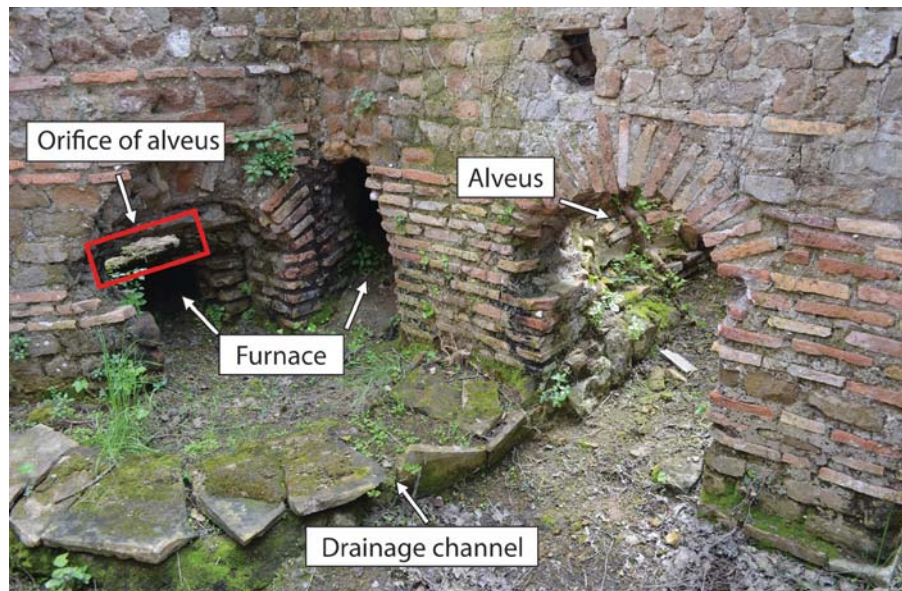


Fig. 5. Praefurnium of the baths in the Via Marciana in Ostia, the red box showing the orifice of the alveus above the furnace (photo author, April 2014).

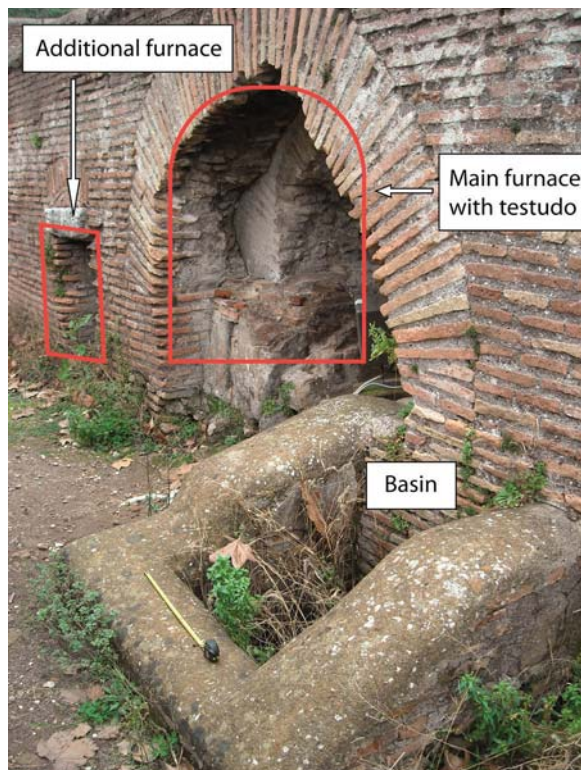


Fig. 6. Furnaces of the western alveus of the new caldarium in the Baths of Neptune in Ostia (photo author, January 2011).

guished.¹⁵ For larger *alvei*, it is possible that the fire in the furnaces was kept burning, as a continuous fire saved the time of firing up the furnace each day, but was also less fuel-consuming in the long run.¹⁶ These larger *alvei* may only have been emptied through 'traditional' drainage systems, such as an orifice giving directly onto the bathroom floor.¹⁷ Larger hot rooms sometimes had additional smaller furnaces besides the large one with a *testudo* underneath the *alveus* (fig. 6).¹⁸ If the fire was kept burning in these smaller furnaces, the water could be discarded through the main furnace without stopping the entire heating system of the room.¹⁹ The drain may also have given directly into an open sewage channel without passing through the actual furnace (fig. 4). Some of these channels seem to have been interrupted by a small basin which may have been constructed to temporarily hold water, perhaps for cleaning purposes (see above, also figs 4-6).

THE SEMI-TESTUDO

In some of the *alvei*, the destruction of the bottom (*Beckenausbruch*) clearly shows that something was torn out after the abandonment of the baths, but the size of the pool or the space above the underlying furnace does not allow for the reconstruction of a normal *testudo*. In these cases, it seems as if

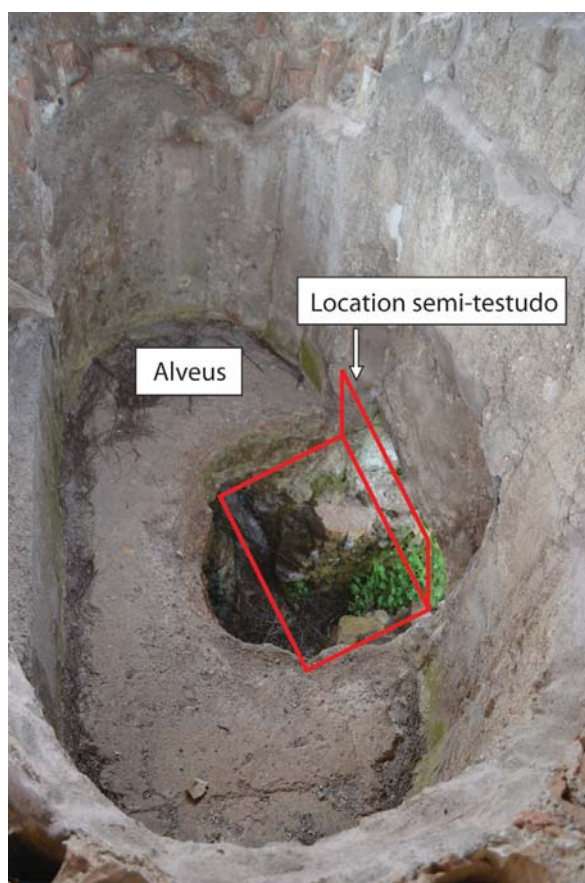


Fig. 7. Western alveus of the caldarium in the Baths on Via della Foce in Ostia, the semi-testudo being removed after the baths fell out of use (photo author, March 2014).

the typical half-cylindrical *testudines* were abandoned for a simple bent sheet of metal, with the horizontal part lying directly above the furnace, while the vertical part was inserted in the pool wall (figs 7-8). This might have been a good solution for smaller pools, often found in Late Antique baths, as it was easier to install and took less space than a traditional *testudo*.²⁰ An example of such a semi-testudo has been found in *Cuicul* (Djemila, Algeria), although it could also be a normal *testudo* which had partially been dismantled (fig. 9C).²¹ We should note that, unlike with a normal *testudo*, the metal sheet that was in direct contact with the furnace, lay at the bottom of the actual pool instead of in its extension (compare figs 1 and 8). Therefore it functioned differently than a normal *testudo*. The functioning of a semi-testudo would find parallels in the heating system of the so-called *calida piscina* (a large heated pool on a hypocaust): a metal tub in the bottom of the pool (called the 'samovar' in modern research) stood in direct contact with the furnace.²² It cannot be excluded that the semi-testudo was also shaped like a shallow tub, rather than as a simple sheet, as was apparently found in the baths of Rome (Via Mercuriana; fig. 9A).²³ To compensate for the searing hot sheet of metal at the bottom, these pools may have been filled with cold water, rather than with warm water from a boiler. In the Baths on the via della Foce (Ostia), three of the four *alvei* with an apparent semi-testudo did not have a boiler surmounting the furnace (fig. 10). The choice of heating one *alveus* by a hypocaust and a semi-testudo, and another with the combination of a hypocaust, a (semi-) *testudo* and

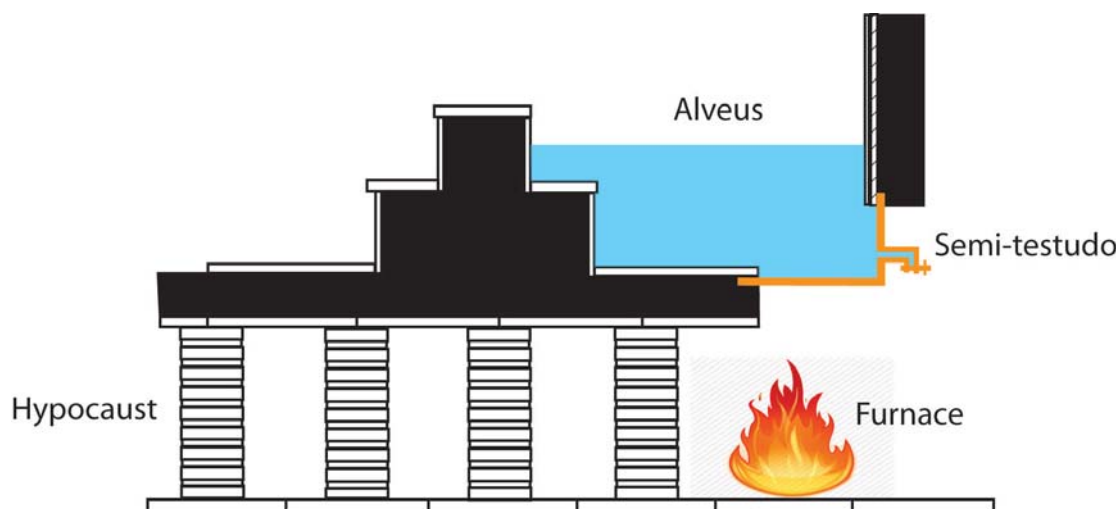


Fig. 8. Schematic drawing of a hypothetical alveus with a semi-testudo (drawing author).

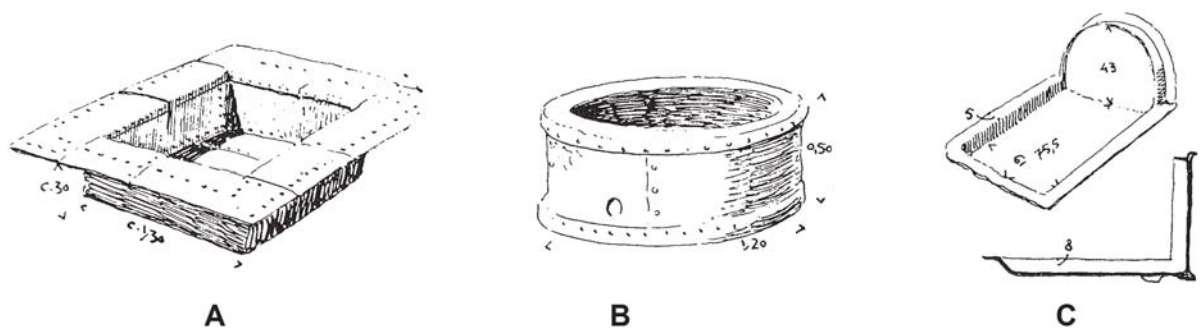


Fig. 9. Different types of possible semi-testudines, found ex situ in Rome (A), Rome (B) and Cuicul (C) (in Krencker/Krüger 1929, 304, fig. 453a-c).

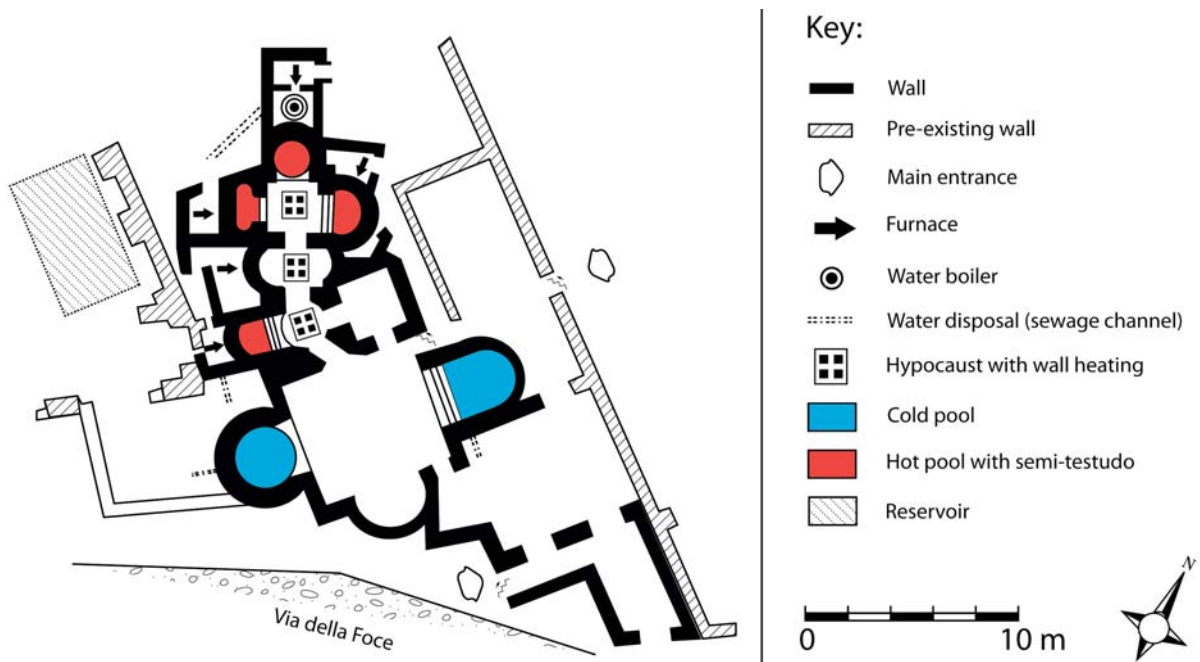


Fig. 10. Plan of the baths on the Via della Foce in Ostia (drawing author after Calza 1953, general plan).

warm water from a boiler, might point to a deliberate differentiation in pool temperatures, offering different experiences to the bathers. Furthermore, heating water only by semi-testudo and hypocaust may have been more economical than heating by boiler (less bronze is needed), while still sufficient (the furnace lies directly under the pool, instead of under the boiler, see fig. 10). It is remarkable that most of the small pools with a possible semi-testudo do not have an easily identifiable drain. For the waste water disposal of such pools, we could imagine an orifice in the wall next to the semi-testudo, or alternatively, a tap in the vertical part of the semi-testudo (fig. 8).²⁴

CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

The drainage of pools, whether these contained cold or heated water, was made as functional as possible. The early system of draining the pools directly onto the bathroom floors, often used when the floor of the pool was on the same level as the bathroom floor, had the additional advantage of cleaning away the dirt. When the bottom of the pools lay lower than the bathroom floor, a network of underground sewage channels had to be laid out. The large volumes of the cold pools were best drained by large sewers, running underneath the pavement of the bathrooms to join the

sewer system in the streets, if possible after passing the latrines. The hypocaust system in the warm rooms complicated the construction of subterranean sewage systems. Instead, the heated pools were emptied directly onto the bathroom floors or by separate drainage channels in the service corridors. The latter could then join the sewers of the cold section or go straight into the street sewers. When no orifices can be identified in heated pools, the water may have been drained by a tap in the *testudo*, a system which has only been found once, but could have been more common than previously assumed. For smaller *alvei*, a type of semi-*testudo*, which has never been envisaged by modern scholars, might also have offered a simple solution for heating and draining hot pools. A tap in a (semi-) *testudo* could give into an open sewage channel in the service corridor, or could perhaps give directly onto the furnace, possibly to clean away remaining ashes. A drain giving onto the furnace fits with the presumption that the hot pools were only emptied once a day, at closing time, when the fire was extinguished and the furnace was cleaned. To avoid a complete extinction of all the furnaces during the night, which would have entailed a long and fuel-costly start-up in the morning, some additional smaller furnaces may have been kept burning. Similarly, the boilers supplying the warm water were sometimes placed on top of separate furnaces, which were kept burning throughout the night. All these elements reinforce our idea about the very functional nature of the water disposal in Roman bathhouses and about the ingenious interaction between heating systems and water management.

NOTES

- * I would like to thank the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma Sede di Ostia for permitting the access to the site and taking photographs. Furthermore, I extend my gratitude to dr. Nathalie de Haan, dr. Devi Taelman, dr. Dimitri Van Limbergen and two anonymous reviewers for commenting on earlier drafts of this paper.
- ¹ Scobie 1986; Garbrecht 1992; Garbrecht/Manderscheid 1994; Manderscheid 1996, 2000a, 2000b; Bouet 1997. See also the different contributions in the *Cura Aquarum* series (BABESCH Supplements) and in the publications of the Frontinus Gesellschaft.
- ² Oleson 1984; Hodge 1991, 261-268; Garbrecht/Manderscheid 1994; Wilson 1996.
- ³ Nielsen 1990a, 23; Manderscheid 2000a, 491-492.
- ⁴ Garbrecht/Manderscheid 1994, 66-67; Van Vaerenberg 2011.
- ⁵ Piranomonte 2012.
- ⁶ Garbrecht/Manderscheid 1994, 60-64; Manderscheid 2000a, 502.
- ⁷ Such a system for emptying the pools was used in the Hellenistic baths in Sicily and *Latium*, see Broise 1994.

It was still used during the High Empire, for example in the Stabian Baths in Pompei (fig. 2). Pools that were added in a later phase, and hence constructed on top of an existing floor, often had such a drain, as this saved the effort of breaking open floors to lay out sewers.

- ⁸ Manderscheid 2000a, 503.
- ⁹ In the Forum Baths in Ostia, for example, only one of the hot pools in the *caldarium* had an orifice that gave directly onto the bathroom floor.
- ¹⁰ Nielsen 1990a, 24. This was the case in the Baths of Caracalla, see above note 5.
- ¹¹ The phenomenon has been called *Beckenausbruch* in modern research, see Garbrecht/Manderscheid 1994, 40-44. For *testudines*, see Garbrecht/Manderscheid 1994, 37-40; Yegül 1992, 374; Schiebold 2010, 26-27.
- ¹² Discussed in de Haan 2010, 70-71.
- ¹³ Martini 1984, 166 and fig. 58. The system is considered to be a local invention by Garbrecht/Manderscheid (1994, 74), but could have been more common than previously assumed.
- ¹⁴ The use of waste water to clean the furnaces has already been proposed by Garbrecht/Manderscheid 1994, 67; Manderscheid 2000a, 504. The water would not venture in the hypocaust as the hypocaust floors tend to slope towards the furnace, for a better circulation of the hot gases (as prescribed by Vitruvius, *De arch.* 5, 10, 2-3: but see the remarks by Degbomont 1984, 109-110). We should nevertheless keep in mind that the bulk of the ashes and charcoal may have been removed with shovels, so that these could be reused for other purposes (colouring, mortar, etc.).
- ¹⁵ There is very little evidence for the rate at which bath water was changed, see Garbrecht/Manderscheid 1994, 74; Blyth 1995, 3; Manderscheid 2000a, 510.
- ¹⁶ For the difficulties in firing a hypocaust furnace, see Rook 1993, 115; Yegül/Couch 2003, 167. For fuel consumption over longer periods of time, see McParland et al. 2009, 181; Grassmann 2011, 24-25.
- ¹⁷ See the example of in the Forum Baths in Ostia, note 9.
- ¹⁸ For example the *alvei* in the *caldarium* of the Baths of Neptune or in the Baths of Porta Marina in Ostia.
- ¹⁹ We can also note that the main furnace of the 'multiple-furnace' *caldaria* in the baths of Ostia were not surmounted by a boiler (fig. 6). In the Baths of Neptune and the Baths of Porta Marina, the boilers were placed above separate furnaces, which did not heat the hypocausts. Similarly, the boiler of the Baths of the Philosopher were also heated by a separate furnace, as the drain of the *alvei* gave directly onto the furnace floor.
- ²⁰ For the use of small pools in Late Antique baths, see Ginouvès 1955 and Maréchal 2016.
- ²¹ Monceaux 1923, 94; Nielsen 1990b, 66, fig. 26; Thébert 2003, 203.
- ²² On the *calida piscina*, see Nielsen 1990a, 156; Garbrecht/Manderscheid 1994, 44-48; Manderscheid 2000a, 515; de Haan 2010, 73.
- ²³ Degbomont 1984, 78.
- ²⁴ See the example in the Baths of Samos. Notice how the possible semi-*testudo* of Rome (fig. 9B) also had a circular orifice, presumably where a tap was once attached to it.

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The Lady of the *Simpelveld* Sarcophagus: an Osteo-Archaeological Approach

Andrea Waters-Rist & Ruurd Halbertsma & Karen Jeneson

Abstract

The Roman-period burial chest from Simpelveld has captured the interest of archaeologists and the public since its discovery in 1930. Substantial looting has disturbed the original contents, but there remains some cremated human material. Despite the incomplete and fragmented nature of these remains, this paper demonstrates that through detailed and advanced analyses much can be learned about the person buried in the chest. Macroscopic and microscopic analyses are undertaken to reconstruct variables about the cremation process, estimate sex and age-at-death, and document pathological conditions. The results reveal the Simpelveld chest's occupant was a middle-aged (35-49 years) female, free from pathological lesions or skeletal anomalies, most notably lacking any signs of osteoarthritis. This osteobiographic profile largely matches the representation of the lady on the inside of the chest, suggesting it was made specifically for her and, with the lack of osteoarthritis, that she probably lived a privileged life. This study improves our understanding of this lady and Roman-period villa life in the south of the Netherlands in general.

INTRODUCTION

The so-called 'Sarcophagus of Simpelveld' is one of the most intriguing monuments in the Roman Department of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (figs 1-3).¹ Its decoration on the inside of the chest, the representation of the reclining woman and the precious gifts have led to a continuous stream of publications, which started soon after its discovery near the village of Simpelveld (province of Limburg) in 1930.² A hitherto rather neglected aspect of the sarcophagus' contents were the cremated human remains. This article will try to derive as much information as possible from the human material, and will engage in discourse that brings to the forefront the value of osteoarchaeological research in furthering our understanding of life in the southern part of the Netherlands during the Roman period. To place this research in context, first a brief description of the sarcophagus, its reliefs and its contents will be given.

The chest is made from sandstone and measures 2.40 m x 1.05 m x 0.76 m on the outside. The internal 'funeral chamber' has been cut out from the massive block and is decorated with representations of furniture and architectural elements. The sarcophagus was originally covered with two sandstone slabs, which were fastened to the main body by metal clamps. Probably during the Germanic invasions in this part of the Roman Empire in the 3rd and 4th centuries CE, the sarcophagus was laid bare and pillaged. Fortunately

the decoration on the walls was not damaged and part of the contents escaped the attention of the grave robbers. A rough edged hole on one of the short sides is a trace of the pillaging.

On the inside most of the decorated space is reserved for the representation of the deceased: a woman, stretched out on a Roman *lectus*, holding an object in her left hand, probably a handkerchief. The hairdo is reminiscent of portraits of Faustina Minor, the wife of emperor Marcus Aurelius, which gives a dating criterion for the years 160-180.³ She is clad in a Gallic *tunica*, with long sleeves, and a mantle, which is draped over her right shoulder. Earlier interpretations described her as participating in a funerary banquet, which is a very common scene on Roman gravestones. But in his 1997 article Frank Zinn astutely pointed out that the funerary banquet belongs almost exclusively to the realm of men. If women are present, they are sitting and not reclining. Zinn sees better parallels in Italian funerary sculptures, where reclining women are represented from Etruscan times onwards.⁴ The 'lady of Simpelveld' is surrounded by sculpted furniture and architectural elements. When we take a clockwise tour of the interior, we encounter the following elements.

To the right of the lady a wicker chair is placed, with a high, curved back and a cushion on its seat. In the Germanic and Gallic provinces these 'cathedra chairs' appear very often, for example on funerary reliefs. Next to the chair stands a chest on a pedestal. The key lock and the handle

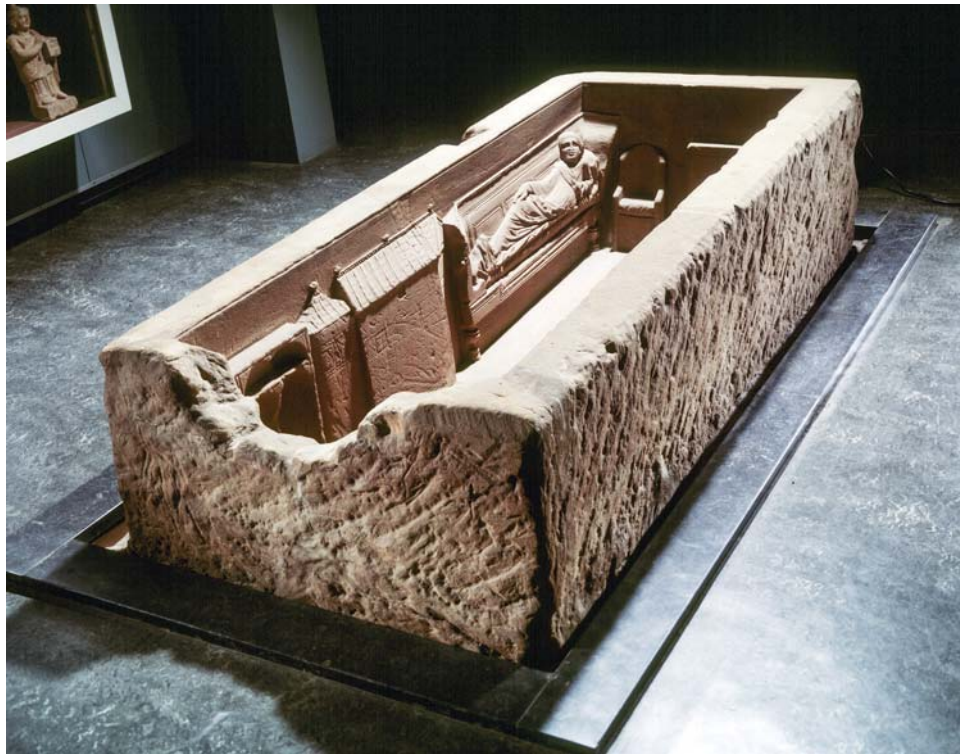


Fig. 1. The Simpelveld Sarcophagus.



Fig. 2. The Simpelveld Sarcophagus. Interior with carved reliefs.



Fig. 3. The Simpelveld Sarcophagus. Tableware and furniture.



Fig. 4. Contents of the Simpelveld Sarcophagus.

are clearly rendered. In a homely context such an *arca* would stand in a prominent place of the house, containing valuable documents and money.⁵ Around the corner, facing the lady, there is a low side table, on which three glass vessels are standing, of common types: two cylindrical bottles, and a rectangular one.⁶ Next to this table a luxurious tri-

pod is depicted, with legs decorated with lion's heads. Such a *mensa delphica* could be made of marble, silver, bronze or wood.⁷ The relative thickness of the legs may hint at the latter material. In front of the table an iron knife has attached itself to the floor. The rust stains on the table suggest that the knife originally was placed on the table top. Next to the *mensa delphica* another sideboard is standing. On the ground stand two tankards. On the first shelf two 'Hemmoorer Eimer' (situlas) are depicted. Above these situlas four drinking cups are standing. All these vessels find close parallels in Provincial-Roman archaeology.⁸ Another luxury item is the next piece of furniture, a cabinet with two doors, sculpted with an eye for details. Next to this closet a series of niches of different sizes is represented. These do not seem to represent elements from real architecture, as observed by Zinn.⁹ His suggestion is that these niches were originally used to display the funerary gifts and the urn with the cremated remains of the deceased. The last architectural element is the representation of a house, with a smaller annexe. Although attempts have been made to link these buildings with real architecture, a general impression of 'grand architecture' is the most likely explanation for this section.¹⁰ In conclusion, we can say that the lady of Simpelveld is surrounded by the best tableware and interior design a villa owner living in the 2nd or 3rd century CE could wish for.

The objects which were found in the chest also give an impression of wealth (fig. 4): luxurious vessels of glass and pottery, golden jewellery, a *stilus* (an indication of the literacy of the lady), a silver mirror, and domestic items such as a knife and a pair of scissors. The most impressive of these funerary gifts is a golden dodecagonal ring, made in the *opus interrasile* technique, with decorations in three zones. The outer zones show a row of pelta-

like elements. The middle one bears an inscription, which is framed by heart-shaped leaves: IVNONI MEAE, 'to my Iuno'. This inscription places the ring and its bearer in the realm of Iuno, the female counterpart of a man's *Genius*. The goddess Iuno is the protectress of marriage and it is an attractive thought that this piece of jewellery once served as the lady's wedding ring. Almost exact parallels of this ring (although with different inscriptions) have been found in England, and can be dated in the 2nd century CE.¹¹ The Faustina Minor type hairdo of the lady of Simpelveld in combination with the parallels for the *opus interrasile* ring suggest a date for the sarcophagus in the third quarter of the 2nd century CE, which is in line with the fact that the 2nd and early 3rd centuries CE were a prosperous period for the villa landscapes in the south of the Netherlands.¹² As such, the sarcophagus of Simpelveld is a testimony for the wealth and luxurious taste of the richest inhabitants of the rural areas in this part of Germania Inferior.

SKELETAL MATERIALS

A total of 386 human bone fragments are present, with 281 identifiable to some degree (*table 1*). The cumulative weight of this material is 273.8 grams. No dental remains were recovered. As detailed in *table 1*, both cranial and post-cranial material are present. For the cranium, elements from the face (maxilla, nasal), vault (parietal, temporal), and base (occipital) are present. There are no mandibular fragments. For the post-cranium, elements from the axial (rib, vertebra, sacrum) and appendicular (arm, leg, shoulder, pelvic girdle, hand and foot) skeleton are present, although there are few identifiable fragments from the hands and feet. Thus, with the exception of the mandible, every part of the body is represented at least minimally. The most common type of material is long bone fragments, sometimes (if large enough or with a diagnostic feature) identifiable to a specific bone. There are no duplicate elements in the assemblage, nor any bones that differ markedly in regards to age or sex, thus, one individual is represented.

METHODS

Different methods are used to investigate the separate components of the analysis, as detailed below.

Cremation Variables

Heat-induced changes to the bone were examined to assess the cremation temperature and to infer

the condition of the deceased individual prior to cremation. Variables such as the temperature, intensity, and duration of the fire, the rapidness with which water gets driven out of heated bone, as well as variation between different bones and individuals determine the extent to which bones will shrink, deform, warp, crack and fragment.¹³ The chemical composition of bone changes in a predictable fashion in response to increasing heat exposure.¹⁴ As such, the temperature of the cremation (sometimes referred to as the combustion degree) can be inferred by looking at the colour, texture, and deformation of the bones (*fig. 5*). For example, only above about 650°C will bone take on a white 'calcined' appearance.¹⁵ Another example involves crack patterns with cracks oriented cross-wise and parallel to the long axis of the bone only appearing at temperatures of 750°C or higher.¹⁶ As well, certain fissures and fracture types (e.g. thumb-nail fractures) only appear if bones are burned when they are still covered in tissue.¹⁷ The extent with which bone shrinks in size is also correlated with heating temperature. In calcined bone, shrinkage can range from 0 to 30%.¹⁸ The average shrinkage of bone heated from 750 to 1000°C is 12 to 14%.¹⁹ It should be kept in mind that a single cremation can show a range of heating temperatures, depending upon the nature of the fire source (e.g. size, duration, open air or covered, fuel source, etc.) and nature of the body (e.g. positioning, time since death, fleshed or de-fleshed, number and density of bones/individuals etc.).²⁰ This analysis assesses every bone fragment for its colour, texture, the presence or absence of warping, and presence/absence and type of cracking. The stage of heating, based upon the stages shown in *figure 5*, that is the best match to these four variables is then assigned.

Sex Estimation

In cremated remains it is not appropriate to estimate the sex of an individual based solely on the size of bones that can shrink due to heat.²¹ Rather, areas of bones that contain features that are more common in one sex over the other should be relied upon. In general, sex estimation is most accurate from the pelvis, followed by the cranium, followed by the rest of the post-cranial skeleton.²² The overall robusticity of the skeleton and muscularity of the long bones can be used as supplemental indicators of sex.²³ As many features as possible should be scored and taken into consideration.

In this analysis three sexually dimorphic features from the pelvis are scored according to the

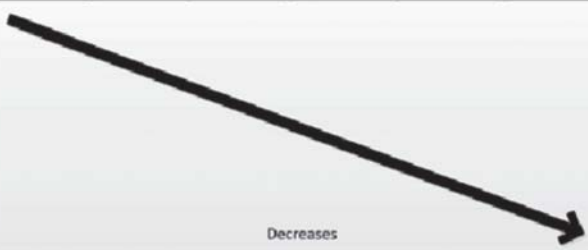

Burn stages	I		II		III	IV		V	
Temperature (°C)	100° 200°		300°	400°	500°	600°	700°	800°	900° >1000°
Colour	Yellowish-White, Ivory	Glassy	Brown/dark-brown	Black	Grey, bluish-grey	Milky white, slightly chalky		White (surface is beige or grey when bone has been laying in the earth)	
Comments	Looks like unburned bone	~1% shrinkage due to loss of water and organic substances	No further shrinkage until ~750°C	Near complete charring of organic materials	Inner compact bone may still be black	Chalky surface, bone is light and very fragile, bone continues to shrink		Smooth surface, when cool, bone becomes very hard. Parabolic heat induced tearing and shrinkage of bone (~10-12%)	
Hardness	 Decreases					Transitional phase Structure is not defined "chalky"		 Increases	
Comparative materials					Glass becomes soft and malleable	Glass becomes a thick liquid		Melting point of silver	-Max temp. Achieved by burning wood -Melting point of gold -Melting point of glass -Melting point of bone

Fig. 5. Burn Stages, Temperature, Colour, and Hardness of Cremated Bone (from Lemmers 2012: 82).

protocol of the cited references: the ventral arc²⁴, the greater sciatic notch²⁵, and the pre-auricular sulcus²⁶ (these features are visible in fig. 6). No cranial fragments were recovered with non-size based sexually dimorphic features. A five-point scale is used to assign a score to sexually dimorphic features that gradate over a continuous range: 5=M (male), 4=PM (probable male), 3=A (ambiguous), 2=PF (probable female), 1=F (female). In addition, the robusticity and presence or absence of pronounced muscle markings on the humeri and femora are noted. Finally, the length of the odontoid process (dens) on the second cervical vertebra (axis) is measured and used as a supplementary indicator of sex based upon research by Schaffler et al. (1992) demonstrating a significant difference between males and females. None of these features will have been heavily influenced by heat shrinkage, with the presence vs. absence traits, such as the ventral arc, pre-auricular sulcus, and muscle markings, not influenced at all.

Age-at-Death Estimation

Age-at-death estimation is based upon macroscopic (visible with the naked eye) and microscopic methods. Given the limited precision and

accuracy of osteological adult age estimation, and the fact that a limited number of features can be observed in this case, only broad age-categories are used, namely: young adult (18-34 years), middle adult (35-49 years), and old adult (50+ years). The three macroscopic methods that are applied are described first.

Macroscopic

One rough indicator of age-at-death is based upon the status of cranial suture fusion. Cranial suture fusion can provide a broad age indication since it generally does not commence until an individual is fully mature and progresses with age such that old adults (50+ years) often possess many fused sutures with the suture line either in the process of remodelling and obliteration or already obliterated.²⁷ When a cranium is not intact, as is the case herein, it is necessary to use cranial suture closure to provide only a very broad age estimate (e.g. <50 or >50 years). It also must be kept in mind that heat may force sutures which are still in an early stage of fusion, to reopen, erroneously indicating a younger individual.²⁸ However, examination of multiple suture locations for signs of partial or complete fusion, especially in-



Fig. 6. Simpelveld Pelvis. Top middle: Ilium fragments; Left: R. auricular surface; Bottom middle: greater sciatic notch and acetabulum fragment; Bottom right: R. pubic symphysis.

volving sutures that are heavily inter-digitated and thus less likely to easily re-open or re-open without causing fracture of the adjoining bone can be useful, again, as long as only very broad age estimates are used.

The other two age-at-death methods are based on features of the pelvis, with the first providing a more precise estimate. First, Brooks and Suchey

(1990) developed a method of age estimation from the metamorphosis of the symphyseal surface of the pubis (shown in *fig. 6*) of the pelvis that is specific to females. Age-related changes on the pubic symphysis continue throughout adulthood. The Suchey-Brooks system uses six stages, with mean ages ranging from 19.4 (stage 1) to 60.0 (stage 6) years. Second, Lovejoy et al. (1985) used



Fig. 7a. Pictomicrograph of Simpelveld femur fragment at 40x magnification under polarized light. Periosteal surface on left.

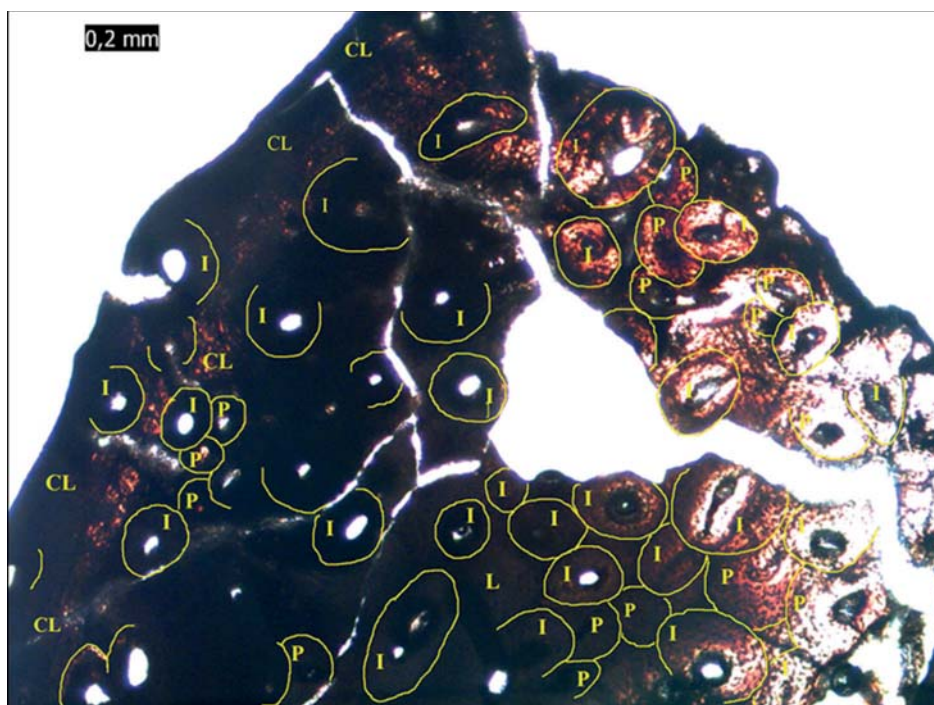


Fig. 7b. Pictomicrograph of Simpelveld femur fragment at 40x magnification under polarized light with structures indicated. Periosteal surface on left. I=intact osteon; P=partial osteon; CL=circumferential lamellae; L=lamellar bone.

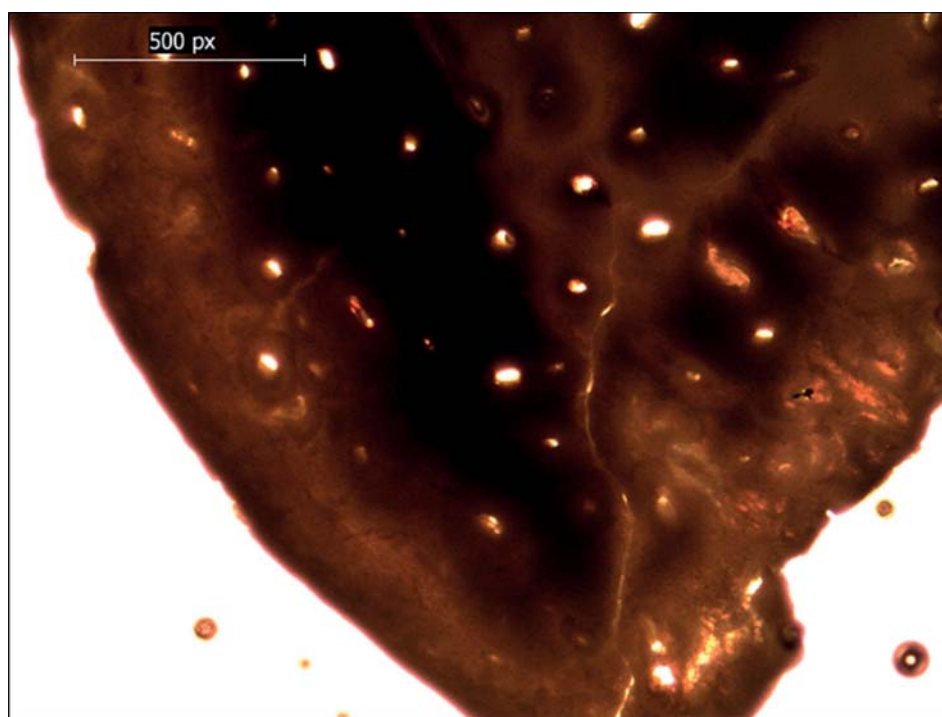


Fig. 8a. Pictomicrograph of Simpelveld femur fragment at 40x magnification. Periosteal surface on left.

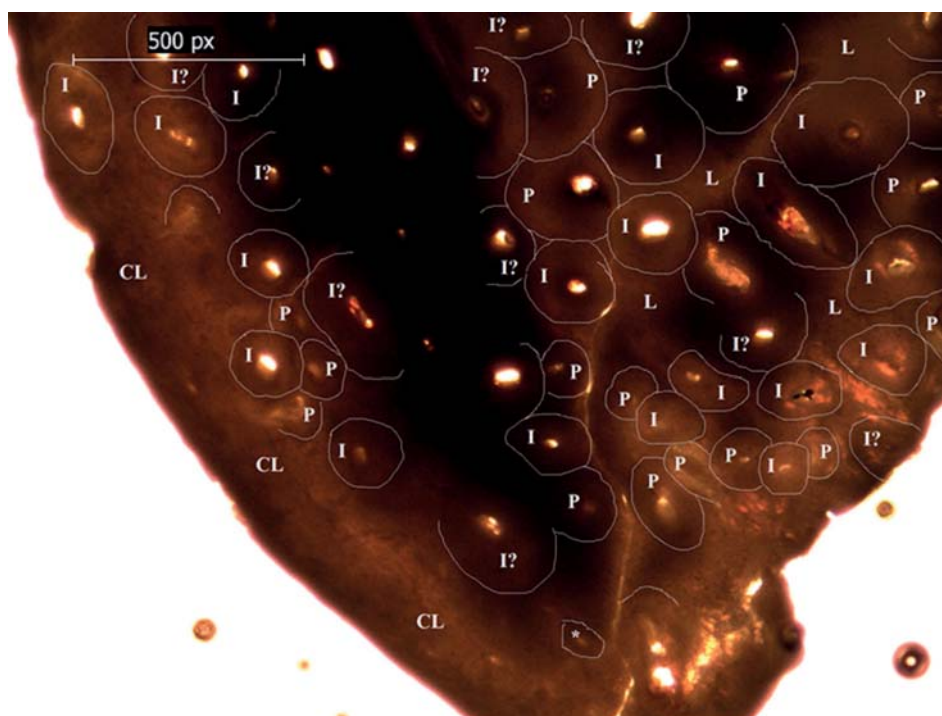


Fig. 8b. Pictomicrograph of Simpelveld femur fragment at 40x magnification with structures indicated. Periosteal surface on left. I=intact osteon; I?=probable intact osteon; P=partial osteon; CL=circumferential lamellae; L=lamellar bone; *=primary (type I, non-Haversian) osteon.

the auricular surface of the pelvis (shown in *fig. 6*) to develop an age-at-death estimation system (with males and females combined due to non-significant differences between them). Buckberry and Chamberlain (2004) modified Lovejoy et al.'s (1985) system whereby the following features are given a numerical score: transverse organization, surface texture, microporosity, macroporosity, and apical changes. The cumulative score then yields a stage (minimum 1, maximum 7). The Simpelveld right auricular surface is not complete (missing most of the superior half and the apical edge) so the best that can be offered is a minimum age and a maximum age.

Microscopic

The final method of age estimation is based on microscopic examination of bone cells from a fragment from the femur. The normal remodelling (turnover) of bone throughout adult life has proved useful for aging. There are many methods developed on different bones whereby different histological structures are quantified (called histomorphology), usually involving assessment of the percentage of remodelled versus unremodelled (primary) bone.²⁹ The cremation process often causes bone cross-sections to have cracks, gaps, and 'blackened' or otherwise non-visible areas, and can cause the outer or inner surface layers to peel or flake off, making observation difficult.³⁰ Such cracks, gaps, and differential visibility are indeed visible in the femur pictomicrographs (*figs 7a to 8b*), but fortunately the inner and outer surfaces of the sectioned femur fragment appear intact. Due to the only partial visibility of histological structures the resultant age estimate must include a wide range.

The methods used to section and analyze the femur fragment are as follows. The femur fragment was embedded in a 5:1.95 solution of EpoThin resin and hardener to fill cracks and limit fracturing during sectioning and grinding. The sections were cut using an IsoMet® 1000 saw at very slow speed (100 rpm) and ground and polished by hand using fine grit carborundum paper before fixing on a microscope slide. All sections are examined with a Leica DM 1000 light microscope with optional polarizer filter using either 40 or 100 magnification. Pictomicrographs are made with a Leica EC3 camera using LAS EZ Version 2.0 software.

There are two main approaches to histology based age estimation: (1) qualitative and (2) quantitative. Quantitative methods³¹ require that one

can correctly identify and differentiate several different types of bone cells as well as measure the size of the cells and size of the observation field.³² Consistently good visibility of cellular structures is necessary, which is not common in heated bone. Hence, quantitative histological methods are not applied to estimate age. Rather, a qualitative method is used. In qualitative methods the cremated bone cross-section is compared to a series of cross-sections of unheated bone of known ages. The cross-sections with the most similar structural appearance are then used to derive an age range estimate.

The Simpelveld femur sections are analyzed using a qualitative method devised by Maat and colleagues (2003). This method is based upon 162 anterior femoral cortex thin sections from 10 to 91 year-old individuals of Dutch (western European) descent (86 males; 76 females). Only individuals free from chronic diseases that may have affected bone morphology were sampled. A series of pictomicrographs is provided for every 10-year age interval, with pictomicrographs given at low and high magnification and under bright-light and polarized light exposures. A table notes that at 30 years of age approximately 50% of the subperiosteal (outer surface) area is composed of non-remodelled bone (circumferential lamellar bone and non-Haversian or primary vascular canals) while at 40 years of age this percentage is reduced to 38%.³³

A final point of consideration regarding histological age estimate is the precision and accuracy of the approach. Hummel and Schutkowski (1986) found errors in histology-based age estimates of up to twenty years with the mean difference between estimated and real age to be 8.4 +/- 6.5 years. While this may seem like a large difference it is actually lower than the standard deviations of many macroscopic age estimation methods. When using broad age categories, as is done in this case, the histological age estimate can make a useful contribution towards assigning an individual to the age category of best fit.

Pathology

Finally, careful macroscopic observation of all bone fragments was undertaken to assess the presence of potential pathological alteration or abnormal morphology. Especially osteoarthritis was looked for, evident in synovial joints via joint contour alteration, marginal bony outgrowths, porosity and pitting of the joint surface, and bone-on-bone contact causing a shiny, worn appearance called

eburnation. Osteoarthritis is one of the most commonly observed pathological conditions in ancient skeletons, with changes typically beginning in young adulthood and progressively worsening with age.³⁴ In addition to this age-based progression, high levels and/or intensities of activity can cause osteoarthritis, hence its frequent use as a marker of repetitive, strenuous activity in past peoples.³⁵

RESULTS

Cremation Characteristics

The bony characteristics informative about the temperature of the cremation suggest it reached the upper end of the temperature range. Most bones exhibited cracks oriented both perpendicular and parallel to the long axis of the bone suggesting a burning temperature above 750°C (stage 5).³⁶ Most bones had white colouration on them indicating burning at temperatures higher than approximately 650°C.³⁷ As well, many bones had a smooth and hard, almost brittle texture, which occurs once temperatures are higher than about 750°C (stage 5). There are a few fragments (parts of the pelvis and vertebrae) with colour and texture changes that occur at lower temperatures (range from stage 2 to 4), but these areas may have been protected from the highest heat because of their position relative to the heat source or protection within the body.

Most fragments had clear 'thumbnail' fractures, especially those from long bones and the ribs, suggesting the body was still covered in tissue when heated.³⁸ As well, many fragments had heat-induced warping, which some authors have argued is indicative of a fleshed body cremation,³⁹ although others have found warping in dry-bone cremations.⁴⁰ Finally, many Simpelveld fragments appear shrunk but it is not possible to quantify the extent of shrinkage without a more complete skeleton and pieces that were not heated to this high level and hence retained their normal size.

Sex Estimation

The results of the sex estimation from the pelvic features are presented first. The right pubic symphysis contains a clear ventral arc, a feature that occurs predominately in females⁴¹, and is thus scored as female (a score of 1). The greater sciatic notch is very wide, as is most common in a female pelvis⁴², and is also scored as female (a score of 1). The right auricular surface lacks a pre-auricu-

lar sulcus, a feature that is more common and better marked in females⁴³, and thus this is scored as male (a score of 5). However, it is not uncommon for a female skeleton to lack a pre-auricular sulcus. For example, in a large sample of over 3000 individuals Gülekon and Turgut (2001) found it was present in only 23% of females (and completely absent in males).

The other features useful for sex estimation are now presented. The size of the dens is within the range for females, well below the range for males, and is thus scored as female (a score of 1, (details given in table 1).⁴⁴ Finally, fragments from both the humerus and femur that can show pronounced robusticity and muscle markings usually more pronounced in males⁴⁵, are relatively gracile yielding a score of probable female (a score of 2). These data, especially the scores for pubic symphysis and greater sciatic notch, result in a final sex estimate of female.

Age-at-Death Estimation

Macroscopic

The results of macroscopic age estimation methods are provided first. The morphology of the Simpelveld right pubic symphysis most closely matches stage 4 of the Suchey-Brooks system:

Symphyseal face is generally fine grained although remnants of the old ridge and furrow system will remain. Usually the oval outline is complete at this stage, but a hiatus can occur in upper ventral rim. Pubis tubercle is fully separated from the symphyseal face by definition of the upper extremity. The symphyseal face may have a distinct rim. Ventrally, bony ligamentous outgrowths may occur on inferior portion of pubic bone adjacent to symphyseal face. If any lipping occurs it will be slight and located on the dorsal border.⁴⁶

Stage 4 corresponds to an age of 38.2 years with a standard deviation of 10.9 years and a 95% range of 26 to 70 years. This places the Simpelveld female at the lower end of the middle adult (35-49 years) age category.

Recall, the auricular surface is incomplete and can thus can only be used to provide a minimum and maximum age (based on the morphology of the area that is visible the individual must be older than or younger than a certain age). Table 2 shows the potential minimum and maximum scores and the resultant age range based on the

method of Buckberry and Chamberlain (2004). While a large age range is all that is possible from the auricular surface, between 29 and 67 years of age, it is useful that this range fully covers the age estimated from the pubic symphysis.

Finally, several cranial fragments were recovered and all had completely open cranial sutures. Many of these fragments contained sutures that were highly inter-digitated with no fused pieces evident along the adjoining margins. It is appropriate to use this evidence to suggest the Simpelveld individual was not an old adult (<50 years of age).

Microscopic

Figures 7a-7b and 8a-8b depict the results of the histological analysis of the subperiosteal femur shaft fragment. Figures 'a' are the raw pictomicrographs without demarcation of cells or labelling of the cellular structures; figures 'b' are labelled in order to demonstrate the presence of different cells useful in assessing the amount of non-remodelled vs. remodelled bone.

The subperiosteal areas of the Simpelveld femur sections contain both non-remodelled and remodelled bone. Based on the qualitative method by Maat (2003) the Simpelveld sections are not consistent with an individual younger than 30 years (at 20 years of age 88% of the subperiosteal bone is non-remodelled) and unlikely to be from an individual older than 50 years (at 51 years 28% of the bone is non-remodelled, with percentages decreasing with increasing age). Thus, the results provide an age estimate of greater than 30 to less than 50 years of age.

Pathology

No pathological lesions or osseous anomalies were noted in any of the bone fragments. In the maxillary fragment showing the sockets of three molar teeth there appeared to be no horizontal or vertical bone loss (sockets were deep, alveolar margin was even and smooth) suggesting no periodontal disease in this area of the mouth. Several joint surfaces were observable, including: the left temporomandibular joint, three rib vertebral ends, two cervical and one vertebral body, ten superior/inferior vertebral articular facets, the promontory (joint between lumbar vertebrae 5 and sacral vertebrae 1), the left and right scapular glenoid cavities, the left patella, and several articular surfaces from hand and foot long bones. None of these articular surfaces had any osteoar-

thritic changes. The lack of osteoarthritis can be cautiously suggested to indicate the Simpelveld female was not regularly engaged in activities that put a lot of stress and strain on these joints. Obviously however, many joints were not observable (much of the thoracic and lumbar spine, elbow, wrist, hip, most of the knee, and ankle) so there may have been osteoarthritis in other areas.

DISCUSSION

The discussion begins with a few points regarding the age-at-death estimation methods. The age estimate of middle adult (35-49 years) relies most heavily on the outcome of the pubic symphysis method.⁴⁷ Numerous studies have found the Suchey-Brooks pubic symphysis method to be one of the most accurate for age estimation.⁴⁸ Since the age estimates from the auricular surface, cranial suture closure, and bone histology, are more or less in agreement with the pubic symphysis age, the category of middle adult is considered quite reliable.

There have been concerns that histological analyses of heated bone are problematic because heating may cause alteration of the cellular structures. However, most research has shown that the microscopic structure of bone burned at up to 700-800°C does not change significantly.⁴⁹ This research found that the shrinkage that heated bone undergoes is experienced uniformly by the different microscopic structures so that any size decrease is linear and thus the basis of age estimation using the comparative quantification of structures is retained.⁵⁰ Yet, other scholars have argued that bone heated at >600 °C can be altered and thus it is not appropriate to use quantification-based age estimation methods.⁵¹ Regardless of which camp proves correct this analysis avoided quantification-based age estimation methods, relying instead on a qualitative method that will be considerably less affected by potential cellular alteration. As well, the histological age estimate was intentionally kept broad (as were the age estimates from the auricular surface and cranial sutures as these were incomplete) in order to reflect the fact that a reasonable degree of accuracy is only possible with an imprecise estimate.

This is a reality faced by most adult age-at-death estimation methods as most of the variables we assess are based on skeletal degeneration and degradation, or in the case of histomorphology, remodelling, which are influenced by many factors besides age including activity, nutrition, disease, hormones, and more. Given the possibil-

ity that the Sempelveld woman had a life largely free from repetitive, strenuous labour, her level of skeletal degeneration may be less than counterparts engaged in more regular labour. In this regard, the pubic symphysis and auricular surface may look a bit younger than she actually was. This is speculation however, and any difference would likely be slight. Indeed, the Suchey-Brooks method was developed upon a forensic sample of females from the late 20th century, many of whom would have led lives without much strenuous labour, so the composition of the method's sample may fit with the Sempelveld woman rather nicely, which can serve to improve the method's accuracy. Finally, if the Sempelveld sarcophagus inhabitant was a woman of means, as was likely the case, she probably had a good diet (at least most of the time) that kept her bones strong and healthy, resulting in generally normal turnover rates. This bodes well for the accuracy of the histological age estimation, as frequent or prolonged episodes of malnutrition, as well as host of diseases (of which there was no evidence of in the limited fragments that remained), can alter bone remodelling rates causing a discrepancy between an individual's chronological age and the age of their skeleton.

Environment: the Loess-Soils Region of Germania Inferior

The richness of the burial evidence found at Sempelveld in combination with the results of the study of the cremated bones indicates that the person interred here was part of the upper-most echelon of provincial-Roman society in this part of the Empire. Sempelveld lies in the heart of the loess-soils region that in the Netherlands occurs only in the southernmost province of Limburg (fig. 9). This region forms part of an extensive band of loess-soils that covers most of northern France, southeast Belgium and part of the German Rhineland. During the Roman period, this entire region underwent a dramatic transformation, with farming practices switching from subsistence to surplus-producing.⁵² The establishment in the course of the 1st century CE of the Roman border or *limes* along the river Rhine meant that over 50.000 soldiers settled within less than 100 kms from this region. During the 1st century CE four mayor capitals of local *civitates* were founded in the settlement landscape between Meuse and Rhine: Atuatuca Tungrorum, Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, Colonia Ulpia Traiana and Noviomagus (current-day Tongeren, Cologne, Xanten, and Nijmegen, respectively).

The *castra*, *castella* and the new towns formed a vast market for all sorts of agricultural products, with wheat being the most important commodity. The area closest to this northern border of the Empire which was suitable for large-scale arable farming, was the region of Limburg and the German Rhineland. Not surprisingly, a network of main roads was constructed as soon as the early 1st century CE, connecting the loess-soils region with the new towns and army camps along the Rhine. The trade in food and other goods caused, amongst other things, an accumulation of wealth for large parts of the farming population in the loess region, which is reflected in both the domestic sphere and in the mortuary evidence.⁵³

The native building tradition between the Meuse and Rhine rivers consisted of rectangular structures made with organic material such as wood, thatch and clay. After the conquest, the Roman style of architecture was introduced to the region with buildings made of stone, concrete and mortar, and ceramic building materials such as rooftiles, and elements such as the porticus, floor-heating and wall-decoration. However, it was not until the end of the 1st century CE that this building style became more widespread in the area.⁵⁴ At the same time, the native building style with post-built houses was still in force throughout the region,⁵⁵ and recent excavations of entire rural settlements consisting of several contemporaneous buildings made with organic material only serve to emphasize this fact.⁵⁶ And on almost every villa estate in the region the main house was often the only stone-built structure, with the rest of the auxiliary buildings made in the vernacular style.⁵⁷

A stone built Roman-style house did not only cost a substantial amount of money, but also required the expert knowledge of a number of craftsmen to produce the various elements of the structure. Therefore it was not just a dwelling, but first and foremost a status symbol, indicating the wealth and lifestyle of its owner.⁵⁸ And stone built houses in the countryside were certainly not all equal, as has been pointed out recently. The large axial villas for example, that represent the most opulent examples of Roman rural building, are found frequently in the northeast of France and southeast of Belgium, but from the Roman countryside of South Limburg they are completely lacking.⁵⁹ The same study also showed that only a small percentage of the stone-built houses in the countryside boasted luxurious elements such as a hypocaust, private baths, or walls decorated with frescoes.⁶⁰ In other words, being able to afford the construction of a stone-built Roman

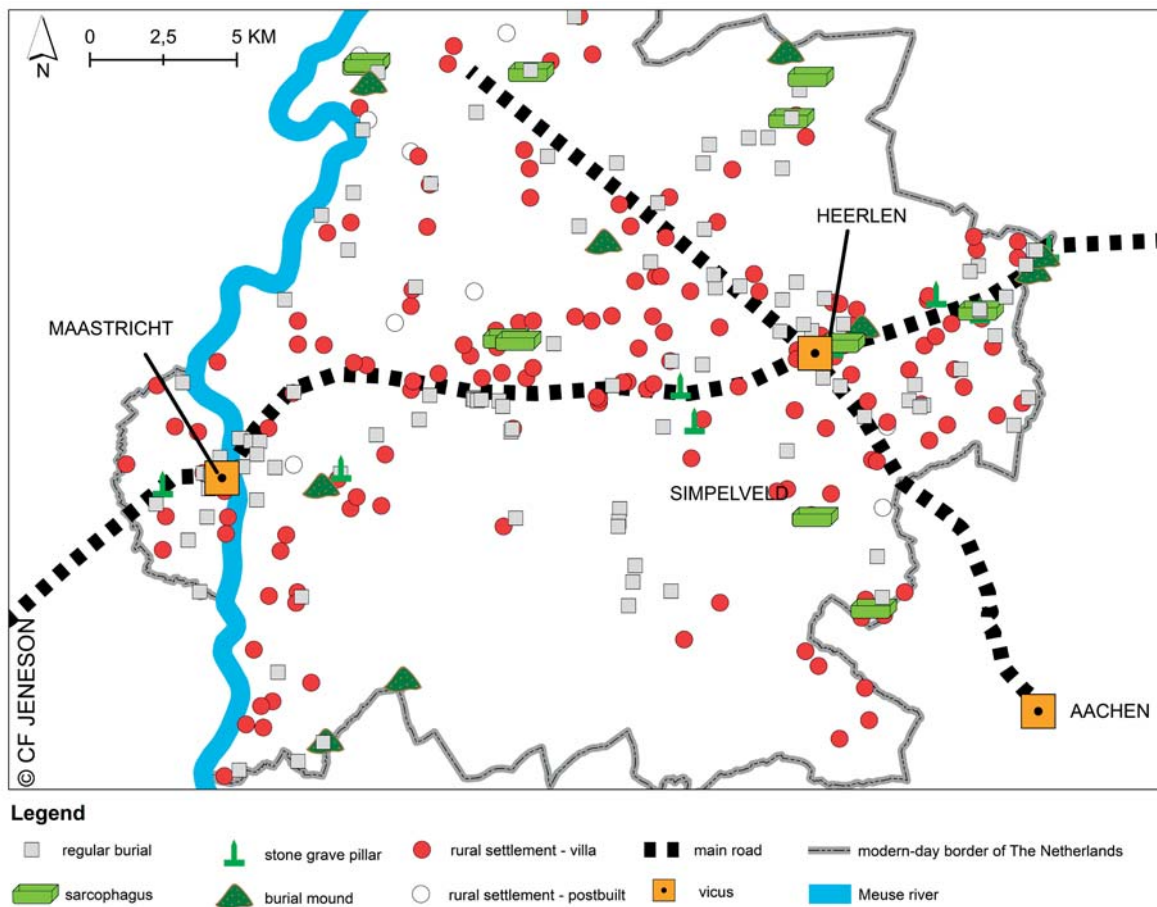


Fig. 9. Map of Roman South Limburg with the distribution of burial evidence in the villa landscape between Maastricht and Heerlen.

style house was in itself an accomplishment, but within the group of farmers being able to do so, only a minority was so affluent as to be able to afford truly expensive elements such as private baths or luxurious interior decorating.⁶¹ This is also reflected in the mortuary evidence of the region.

The number of Roman burials in the countryside of South Limburg is considerable. They are especially evident in the quantity and quality of the grave goods. In approximately 75% of all cases the evidence consists of cremated remains in a container, placed in a pit together with a few pieces of pottery. One quarter consist of burial evidence of an altogether much more monumental character, such as stone coffins, tower tombs, grave pillars, and tumuli.⁶² In these types of burials large assemblages of grave goods are often found, of a variety of materials, such as bronze and glass. Not surprisingly, these burials are

ascribed to the more privileged members of Roman society. As with the stone-built houses however, a subdivision can be made even in the category of monumental mortuary evidence, based on the composition of the individual objects and elements in the burial. In one of the four burial zones of the *vicus* of Coriovallum (current-day Heerlen) for example, different types of monumental burials were found, such as an inscribed grave pillar, a small 'sarcophagus' made of roof-tiles in which several objects were placed, and most spectacularly, a group of four sarcophagi, with a collection of grave goods of exceptional quality, made of gold, glass, and amber (fig. 10). The sarcophagi themselves, which were buried alongside the main Roman road from Coriovallum to Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, were of a rather roughly hewn sandstone, with the lid connected to the coffin by means of bronze clamps.⁶³ In the same area as the sarcophagi, a grave pillar



Fig. 10. The discovery of four large stone incinerary urns at the Voskuilenweg in Heerlen in 1920, with local archaeologist Piet Peters on the left.

decorated with the image of a man and a woman, presumably a couple, was found a few years earlier. Because of the hairstyle of the woman, this grave pillar is referred to as 'the Ubian couple'. Arguably this pillar was the above-ground monumental burial marker of two of the four sarcophagi.⁶⁴ The opulence of the entire assemblage notwithstanding, this burial pales in comparison to that of Simpelveld, with its richly decorated coffin in addition to the precious grave goods. The fact that the coffin showed elements of both the interior and exterior of a typical Roman-style stone built house proves that it represents that house and that it was seen as an integral part of that what the deceased would need in the afterlife. The fact that this is the only coffin in the entire Roman northwest, in the large number of stone coffins found in the region and beyond, is clear evidence of the elevated status and wealthy background of the woman for whom it was made.

CONCLUSIONS

This research has demonstrated that the middle-aged woman interred in the Simpelveld sarcophagus was cremated in a fire of high temperature ($>750^{\circ}\text{C}$) involving her complete, fleshed, body. The lack of pathological lesions may be evidence for a life free from repetitive strenuous labour,

although the incompleteness of the skeleton prevents this from being concluded definitely. This research demonstrated that even in highly heated and fragmented human remains histological analyses can still provide useful, albeit broad, information on age-at-death when assessed using a qualitative approach. Future human cremation research should consider histological analysis when identifiable long bone fragments are present and few or no macroscopic age-at-death estimation methods can be applied. Thus, despite the fact that the past opening and pillaging of the sarcophagus resulted in the loss of a significant amount of skeletal material, a lot of information was gleaned from what remained. With this osteobiographical profile of the inhabitant of the famous Simpelveld sarcophagus we can ponder to what extent the woman's life was reflected in the decorative features of the sarcophagus. Was the sarcophagus designed specifically for her, and meant to depict her life, or rather, the image of her life she wanted portrayed? Comparison of the Simpelveld sarcophagus to other monumental burials, including other stone coffins, from the region, demonstrates just how much it stands out. It is the most richly decorated coffin, and probably was the most richly adorned, although because of looting we cannot know how many precious grave goods were lost. Likely an important function of the sar-

cophagus was the idea to showcase in the after-life the woman's status and wealth, as a signal as well as the material means of providing her with all that someone of her position should receive.

NOTES

- * Andrea Waters would like to thank Simone Lemmers for her invaluable advice about the analysis of the cremated material and Menno Hoogland for his photographic expertise.
- ¹ Although this monument is referred to by most scholars as the 'Sarcophagus of Simpelveld' it was not used for inhumation: it is a container for a cremation burial, decorated on the inside as a room, with the personal belongings of the lady whose ashes were placed here. However, since the word 'sarcophagus' has been used to describe the Simpelveld monument, the term will be used here in order to prevent confusion. For the role of mortuary ritual used by privileged social groups see Crowley 2011, 200.
 - ² For a complete list of publications, see Zinn 1997.
 - ³ Zinn 1997, 143: '6. Porträtttyp der Faustina Minor.'
 - ⁴ Zinn 1997, 144-146.
 - ⁵ Zinn 1997, 136.
 - ⁶ These are the types Isings 1957, forms 50-51, common in the 1st and 2nd centuries CE.
 - ⁷ Richter 1966, 111-112; Moss 1988, 37-43; Mols 1999, 44-52.
 - ⁸ Zinn 1997, 137-138. Produced in Gaul and Germany during the 2nd-3rd centuries CE.
 - ⁹ Zinn 1997, 148-150.
 - ¹⁰ '... allgemein gehaltene Abbreviatur eines grossen Gebäudekomplexes. [...] Dazu wählte der Bildhauer geradezu chiffrehaft die einfachste Hausform, nämlich ein langrechteckiges Gebäude, und ergänzte es durch einen kleineren Anbau.' Zinn 1997, 139.
 - ¹¹ Henig in King/Henig 1981, 129; Deppert-Lippitz 1985b, 123; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1992, 75; Zinn 1997, 140.
 - ¹² This is evidenced by a stark increase in rural settlements with stone-built houses in the loess-region as well as an increase in wealth display both in the new towns and the countryside. See Zinn 1997, 142-144; Jeneson 2013, 138.
 - ¹³ Lemmers 2012.
 - ¹⁴ Devlin 2008.
 - ¹⁵ Etxeberria 1994; Mays 1998; Shipman et al. 1984; Walker/Miller 2005.
 - ¹⁶ Wahl 1982.
 - ¹⁷ Binford 1963; Buikstra/Swegle 1989; Ubelaker 1978.
 - ¹⁸ Brandtmiller/Buikstra 1984; Grupe/Hummel 1991; Holland 1989; Shipman et al. 1984.
 - ¹⁹ Wahl 1982.
 - ²⁰ Lemmers 2012.
 - ²¹ Thompson 2002.
 - ²² Buikstra/Ubelaker 1994.
 - ²³ Bass 1995.
 - ²⁴ Phenice 1969.
 - ²⁵ Buikstra/Ubelaker 1994.
 - ²⁶ Buikstra/Ubelaker 1994.
 - ²⁷ Meindl/Lovejoy 1985; White 2011.
 - ²⁸ Lemmers 2012.
 - ²⁹ See Robing/Stout 2008 for a review.
 - ³⁰ Hummel/Schutkowski 1993.

- ³¹ E.g. Ahlqvist/Damsten 1969; Kerley 1965; Maat et al. 2006; Thompson 1979.
- ³² Crowder 2013.
- ³³ Maat et al. 2003, 8.
- ³⁴ Reviewed in Roberts/Manchester 2007; Waldron 2009.
- ³⁵ E.g. Molnar et al. 2011; Palmer et al. 2016; Pearson/Buikstra 2006.
- ³⁶ Wahl 1982.
- ³⁷ Etxeberria 1994; Mays 1998; Shipman et al. 1984; Walker/Miller 2005.
- ³⁸ Binford 1963; Buikstra/Swegle 1989; Ubelaker 1978.
- ³⁹ Baby 1954; Binford 1963; Etxeberria 1994.
- ⁴⁰ Buikstra/Swegle 1999; Spenneman/Colley 1989; Whyte 2001.
- ⁴¹ Phenice 1969.
- ⁴² Buikstra/Ubelaker 1994.
- ⁴³ Buikstra/Ubelaker 1994.
- ⁴⁴ Schaffler et al. 1992.
- ⁴⁵ Bass 1995.
- ⁴⁶ Brooks/Suchey 1990.
- ⁴⁷ Brooks/Suchey 1990.
- ⁴⁸ E.g. Klepinger et al. 1992; Martrille et al. 2007.
- ⁴⁹ Brandtmiller/Buikstra 1984; Herrmann 1977; Nelson 1992; Shipman et al. 1984; Walker et al. 2008; also see papers in Grupe/Garland 1993.
- ⁵⁰ Hummel/Schutkowski 1986.
- ⁵¹ Holden et al. 1995.
- ⁵² Amongst the many publications referring to this, the most recent that are relevant for the region at hand are Habermehl 2013, 1 and Roymans/Derks 2011, 16 and 20. Roymans/Derks 2011, 15-16; Crowley 2011, 201.
- ⁵³ Habermehl 2013, 60-63.
- ⁵⁴ Jeneson 2011, 262; Jeneson 2013, 139.
- ⁵⁵ See for example Vanderhoeven 2006 and Tichelman 2009 for examples of recently excavated rural post-built settlements in the region.
- ⁵⁶ See for evidence in Limburg Tichelman 2005, and for evidence in the neighbouring region of the German Rhineland several publications by Gaitzsch, such as the ones from 1991, 2008 and 2011.
- ⁵⁷ Habermehl 2013, 108-113.
- ⁵⁸ Roymans/Habermehl 2011, 85.
- ⁵⁹ Jeneson 2013, 87-97.
- ⁶⁰ Roymans/Derks 2011, 27.
- ⁶¹ Jeneson 2012, 92-97.
- ⁶² Peters 1920, 51.
- ⁶³ Peters 1920, 51.
- ⁶⁴ Peters 1920, 51.

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Table 1. Cremated Human Skeletal Material, Simpelveld Sarcophagus.

Item	Bone	No of Pieces	Burning Degree	Weight (g)	Mean Size of Pieces (cm)	Age Estimate	Sex Estimate	Pathology/Anomaly	Notes
Cranial									
1	R maxilla alveolus fragment showing sockets of M3, M2, and distal half of M1	1	Colour: white Texture: chalky Warping: no Cracking: yes	0.7	2.0	adult sized sockets	--	No signs of alveolar loss (periodontal disease)	
2	Maxilla fragments	5	Colour: yellow-white Texture: smooth Warping: no Cracking: yes	1.2	1.0	--	--	no	Fragments show sockets of root tips. Not complete enough to identify which tooth
3	R. nasal	1	Colour: brown-white Texture: normal Warping: no Cracking: no	0.4	<1.0	--	--	no	
4	Occipital fragments	5	Colour: white Texture: chalky to smooth (hard) Warping: yes Cracking: yes	10.2	2.5 to 4.0	all observable sutures unfused = not old adult	no	no	Can observe very interdigitated sutures
5	Temporal fragments	3	Colour: white Texture: chalky to smooth (hard) Warping: yes Cracking: yes	7.1	2.5 to 5.0	all observable sutures unfused = not old adult	no	no	
6	L temporal fragment of inferior temporo-mandibular joint	1	Colour: brown Texture: normal Warping: no Cracking: no	1.3	1.5	--	--	no (no OA on portion of TMJ that was observable)	
7	Skull vault fragments	13	Colour: yellow-white Texture: chalky (light) to smooth (hard) Warping: yes Cracking: yes	14.8	1.0 to 4.0	all observable sutures unfused = not old adult	no	no (no fragments with porotic hyperostosis)	Can observe many open sutures
8	Sphenoid fragment	1	Colour: white Texture: hard Warping: no Cracking: yes	1.3	3.0	--	--	no	
9	Unidentified cranial fragments	39	Colour: brown, yellow and white Texture: normal to chalky to smooth Warping: on some Cracking: on some	10.5	<1.0	--	--	no	No fragments with fused sutures

Post-Cranial: Axial									
10	R rib vertebral end showing rib tubercle	1	Colour: white Texture: chalky Warping: no Cracking: yes	2.8	4.0	--	--	no	
11	Rib vertebral ends	2	Colour: white Texture: chalky Warping: yes Cracking: yes	1.5	2.0	--	--	no	
12	Rib body fragments	29	Colour: white Texture: chalky to smooth (hard) Warping: yes Cracking: yes	16.9	>1.0 to 6.0	--	--	no	
13	axis	2	Colour: yellow-white Texture: chalky Warping: no Cracking: yes	5.2	4.0 to 5.0	fully developed = adult	- size of dens (13.22 mm) closer to F avg. (14.0 mm) than male avg. (14.7mm): score as F	no (no OA on the dens, inferior body surface, or the inferior articular surface)	
14	cervical vertebrae body	1	Colour: brown Texture: normal Warping: no Cracking: yes	1.6	1.5	--	--	no (no OA on superior or inferior body)	
15	cervical vertebrae neural arch	1	Colour: black-white Texture: charred to chalky Warping: no Cracking: no	0.4	<1 cm	--	--	no	
16	R side of thoracic vertebra, showing edge of superior and inferior body, the full R neural arch and inf. articular process	1	Colour: white Texture: chalky Warping: no Cracking: no	3.0	4.0	--	--	no (no OA on body surfaces or inferior articular process)	
17	vertebrae superior and inferior articular facets	8	Colour: white Texture: normal to chalky to smooth Warping: yes Cracking: yes	3.6	<1.0 to 2.0	--	--	no (no OA or lamellar spurs)	
18	vertebra spinous process	1	Colour: white Texture: chalky Warping: no Cracking: no	0.6	1.0	--	--	no	
19	vertebra body fragment	1	Colour: brown Texture: normal Warping: no Cracking: no	0.5	<1.0	--	--	no	

20	Sacrum – Promontory (S1)	1	Colour: brown-white Texture: normal Warping: yes Cracking: yes	8.8	8.0	--	--	no (no OA on the promontory)	
Post-Cranial: Appendicular									
21	Scapula – L glenoid cavity	1	Colour: white Texture: smooth Warping: yes Cracking: yes	3.6	3.0	--	--	no (no OA of the joint)	
22	Scapula – R glenoid cavity	2	Colour: white Texture: smooth to chalky Warping: yes Cracking: yes	1.8	1.0 to 2.0	--	--	no (no OA of the joint)	
23	Scapula fragments	4	Colour: white Texture: smooth (hard) Warping: yes Cracking: yes	5.8	2.0 to 4.0	--	--	no	
24	Probable humerus shaft fragments	13	Colour: black to white Texture: charred to chalky to smooth Warping: yes Cracking: yes	18.2	1.0 to 5.0	--	- no pronounced muscle markings and overall very gracile: score 2 (PF)	no	
25	Ulna shaft fragments	4	Colour: yellow to white Texture: chalky to smooth (hard) Warping: no Cracking: yes	6.5	2.0 to 3.0	--	--	no	- 2 fragments mend
26	Radius shaft fragments	4	Colour: yellow to white Texture: chalky to smooth (hard) Warping: no Cracking: yes	5.0	1.0 to 2.0	--	--	no	- 3 fragments mend
27	Probable lower arm bone fragments (radius or ulna)	6	Colour: yellow-white Texture: chalky Warping: no Cracking: yes	2.6	1.0-2.0	--	--	no	- no mends
28	Pelvis R pubic symphysis	1	Colour: yellow-white Texture: chalky Warping: no Cracking: yes	3.5	5.0	Brooks-Suchey (1990): stage 4 = 38.2+/-10.9 years	- clear ventral arc: score 1 (F)	no	

29	Pelvis R auricular surface	2 (mend)	Colour: dark brown-grey Texture: normal Warping: no Cracking: yes	4.8	6.0	Buckberry & Chamberlain (2004): composite minimum score of 8 (stage 2): minimum age 29.33+/-6.71; composite maximum score of 15 (stage 6): maximum age 66.7+/-11.88 years	- no pre-auricular sulcus: score 5 (M)	no	
30	Pelvis iliac blade and portion of greater sciatic notch	2	Colour: dark brown-white Texture: normal Warping: no Cracking: yes	8.7	2.0 to 10.0	adult - epiphysis fused and line obliterated	--	no	
31	Pelvis fragments (one piece shows part of the greater sciatic notch)	3	Colour: dark brown-white Texture: chalky Warping: yes Cracking: yes	6.6	3.0 to 8.0	--	- very wide sciatic notch: score 1 (F)	no	
32	Femur shaft fragments	12	Colour: white Texture: chalky and smooth (hard) Warping: yes Cracking: yes	33.3	2.0 to 8.0	--	- no pronounced muscle markings and not robust: score as a 2 (PF)	no	- 8 pieces mend
33	L. patella (~70% complete)	1	Colour: dark brown Texture: normal Warping: no Cracking: yes	4.5	5.0	--	--	no	posterior surface intact; anterior surface damaged
34	Tibia shaft fragments	6	Colour: yellow-white Texture: chalky to smooth (hard) Warping: no Cracking: yes	9.5	2.0 to 4.0	--	--	no	no mends
35	Fibula shaft fragments	5	Colour: white Texture: chalky to smooth (hard) Warping: yes Cracking: yes	8.5	2.0 to 5.0	--	--	no	2 mends
36	Long bone articular ends	7	Colour: brown to black Texture: normal to charred Warping: no Cracking: yes	11.3	2.0 to 6.0	--	--	no	no mends

37	Unidentified long bone fragments	86	Colour: white Texture: chalky to smooth (hard) Warping: some yes Cracking: some yes	33.8	<1.0 to 2.0	--	--	no	not identifiable to a specific long bone
38	metacarpal head	1	Colour: white Texture: chalky Warping: no Cracking: yes	0.7	2.0	--	--	no	
39	carpal distal phalange	1	Colour: white Texture: chalky Warping: yes Cracking: yes	0.1	1.0	--	--	no	
40	carpal or tarsal proximal phalange	1	Colour: white Texture: chalky Warping: yes Cracking: yes	0.2	1.0	--	--	no	
41	calcaneus fragment	1	Colour: white Texture: chalky Warping: yes Cracking: yes	0.7	2.0	--	--	no	
42	probable metatarsal base fragment	1	Colour: brown Texture: normal Warping: no Cracking: yes	0.1	<1.0	--	--	no	can see a small bit of the articular surface
43	unidentified fragments	105	Colour: white Texture: chalky to smooth (hard) Warping: some yes Cracking: some yes	11.6	<1.0	--	--	no	

Abbreviations: L = left; R = right; MC = metacarpal; MT = metatarsal; OA = osteoarthritis

** No dental material recovered.*

Table 2. Simpelveld Auricular Surface Scores following Buckberry and Chamberlain (2004).

	Minimum score	Maximum Score	Comments
Transverse Organization	3*	4	½ observable
Surface Texture	2*	4	½ observable
Microporosity	1*	2	½ observable
Macroporosity	1*	2	½ observable
Apical Changes	1	3	not observable
Composite Score	8	15	Older than 29 and younger than 67 years
Stage	2	6	
Age and Standard Deviation	29.33 +/- 6.71	66.71 +/- 11.88	

**Actually observed. The minimum score represents what was actually observed on the skeleton (except for the apical changes where the lowest possible value is listed); the maximum score is what could theoretically be obtained if the unobservable areas displayed the highest amount of change possible.*

One more note on the Constantinian Cameo in Leiden

Ruurd Halbertsma

As a reply to my 2015 *BABESCH* article on the *Gemma Constantiniana* in Leiden, Paul Stephenson made some interesting remarks, which deserve an answer.¹ Many of his observations are useful, accurate and give additional information on imperial iconography in the 4th century CE. But the main issue still remains the date of the cameo. In my article I proposed (in line with earlier publications e.g. by A.N. Zadoks -Josephus Jitta) the years 312-315 as the period of its creation, following Constantine's victory over Maxentius and anticipating the festivities of his ten years' reign, the *Decennalia* in 315-316.² I saw the cameo as one of the gifts of the Roman senate to their new emperor, celebrating his victory over the 'tyrant' Maxentius and appraising the fact that an heir to the throne was present in the person of Crispus, who was then in his early teens. In the triumphal chariot Constantine's mother Helena and his wife Fausta are pointing at the young boy, who, clad as a soldier, engages directly with the viewer of the cameo. The general objection against the date 312-315 lied in the fact that both women are wearing a headgear, a laurel wreath (Helena) and maybe a diadem (Fausta). These signs of imperial rank were allowed to both women in the fall of 324, after Constantine had gained the final victory over the army and fleet of Licinius. Helena and Fausta were elevated to the rank of *Augustae* on 8 November 324, on which date Constantine conferred the title of *Caesar* to his third son Constantius, raising the number of *Caesares* to three (Crispus and Constantinus had been created *Caesares* in 317). A closer look at the cameo, especially at the hairdos and headgears of the various persons, led me to the suggestion that on Helena a wreath was incised at a later date, reducing the volume of her hair and giving it a rather stiff and rigid look. As for Fausta I suggested that the intention of the original sculptor was to give her the *corona spicea* (in line with the corn ears and poppy in her left hand), which on occasion of her elevation to *Augusta* in 324 was reworked into an awkward diadem. The reworked imperial cameo could thus have been presented to Constantine in Rome during the festivities of his 20 years' reign, the *Vicennalia* (325-326).

In his article Stephenson repeats the theory of Gerda Bruns, who identified the young boy in the chariot as Constantine's third son, Constantius.³ In his view the whole scene is not intended to illustrate a formal *triumphus*, but alludes more to the celebration which followed the promotion of Constantius to the rank of *Caesar*.⁴ The victory, then, is over Licinius at the battle of Chrysopolis on 24 September 324, and the scene represents the elevation of Constantius to *Caesar* in the presence of his mother and grandmother, both rendered as *Augustae*. Of course, as a hypothesis this view is valid, as it was in Bruns' publication, but a few problems remain. In the whole sequence of imperial cameos not one is to be found that celebrates the elevation of one of the emperor's sons to the rank of *Caesar*. This was usually done by issuing coins, showing the prince with a diadem and designing him as CAESAR. To dedicate an imperial cameo of this extraordinary size to a rather repetitive political event seems unlikely. Secondly, if the young *Caesar* is the main player of the scene, why is he not wearing his newly earned diadem? Thirdly, at the moment of Constantius' promotion, Constantine's eldest son Crispus was at the height of his popularity, having fought against Licinius' troops as commander of the fleet. And there was another brother, Fausta's first son Constantinus. Seeing their (step-)brother Constantius honoured in this way with an imperial cameo would have been rather troublesome for the elder brothers, who could claim earlier rights of succession than Constantius. As said before, a coin issue for a new *Caesar* was normal practice in the Roman empire. Moreover, the date in the years 324-325 does not explain the rather awkward hairstyles of the two ladies, the poor execution of Helena's wreath (in comparison to Constantine's) and the questionable headgear of Fausta ('wreath or diadem' according to earlier publications). Ascribing these anomalies to 'a mistake by the original artist or the nature of the stone'⁵ as Stephenson argues, is not convincing in view of the accurate rendering of all the other hairdos and the fine execution of other attributes.⁶

Recently a numismatic article came to my attention, which offers another argument against

a date of the cameo in 324-325.⁷ In his publication *Constantine's vicennalia and the death of Crispus* Lars Ramskold gives numismatic and epigraphic evidence concerning Constantine's celebration journey from Nicomedia to Rome. Donatives in the form of coins were produced on each major stop along the way, portraying the emperor, the three (!) *Caesares* and the two *Augustae*. A newly discovered bronze honorary coin, struck in Rome on Constantine's arrival, depicts Crispus with full titles, showing that he was still favoured by his father. This arrival is dated 18 July 326. In the summer of 326 the tragedy at the imperial court took place, which led to the execution of Crispus and the death of Fausta. The party was over: after August 326 no coins of Crispus or Fausta were issued anymore. He and his stepmother met with *damnatio memoriae*. Helena departed for the Holy Land, and Constantine left Rome for Constantinople and Nicomedia, probably in August 326.⁸ Thus there is numismatic evidence that Crispus' fall from grace can be placed in Rome and dated to the second half of July or August 326.

Discussing the chronology concerning the coins around Constantine's vicennalia, Ramskold discusses at length the headgear on these coins. Silver coins from Antioch⁹ seem to indicate that the plain diadem, replacing the laurel wreath, was introduced at least six months before Constantine's arrival in Rome. There are no coins later than July 325 that show Constantine wearing a laurel wreath. The only exceptions are to be found in mints in the outer regions, far away from court.¹⁰ This means that already around mid-325 on official portraits the wreath was replaced by the diadem.

If we try to identify the scene on the *Gemma Constantiniana* with the events following Licinius' defeat on 24 September 324, then we encounter a timeframe that poses problems. An agate of considerable size had to be designed and cut before July 325, as after that date the official portraiture changed in favour of the diadem. If we suppose that the senate of Rome were responsible for this gift, then we have to remember the reactions of the emperor ten years earlier, when he saw himself sitting in the pose of Jupiter in the Basilica of Maxentius. He ordered the scepter to be replaced by a cross, and an inscription to be added, which reminded all Romans that the 'salutary sign of the cross' had liberated their city from the 'tyranny' of Maxentius.¹¹ The connotations of the senatorial gifts during the *decennalia* may have caused the banishment of Gaius Volusianus as *praefectus urbi*.¹² Why risk the same unpleasantness with a cameo depicting Constantine as Jupiter?

This might have been excusable in 315, but was certainly risky in 325. With Constantine's laurel wreath, his thunderbolt and the hairdos of the imperial ladies the date of the cameo fits perfectly in the years 312-315, if we agree on a reworking of the cameo between the fall of 324 and the early summer of 325, the beginning of the Vicennalia.

NOTES

- ¹ See for my article *Nulli tam laeti triumphi*: Halbertsma 2015. For Stephenson's reaction: Stephenson 2015.
- ² Halbertsma 2015, 229-231.
- ³ Bruns 1948, 8.
- ⁴ Stephenson 2015, 237.
- ⁵ Stephenson 2015, 239-40.
- ⁶ Stephenson 2015, 239-40.
- ⁷ Ramskold 2013.
- ⁸ Ramskold 2013, 415.
- ⁹ Ramskold 2013, Appendix I
- ¹⁰ Ramskold 2013, 430-431.
- ¹¹ Halbertsma 2015, 233, n. 38.
- ¹² Halbertsma 2015, 228.

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Reviews

GÜLER ATEŞ, *Die rote Feinkeramik von Aizanoi als lokaler Kulturträger. Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von lokaler roter Feinkeramik und importierter Sigillata*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Archäologische Forschungen Band 32/Aizanoi Band 2. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2015. 168 S., 10 Abb., 73 Taf., 3 Farbtaf.; 30.1 cm. – ISBN 978-3-95490-065-7.

Knowledge of the Roman-period manufacture of red slip tablewares in Asia Minor has increased considerably in recent years. A new and significant point of reference in this developing field is Güler Ateş' monograph - second in the Aizanoi series - that discusses local and imported terra sigillata and red slip wares at Aizanoi. With local production attested at, among others, Sagalassos, Kibyra and Pednelissos, Aizanoi now joins the ranks of what presumably was a scenario in which many towns and cities furnished to a considerable if not predominant extent the tableware requirements of their inhabitants, and possibly their immediate environs. A. is quick to postulate, however, that the Aizanoi workshops produced solely for the inhabitants of the city, as - in her opinion - the quality would not have been sufficient for wider distribution.

Whilst some illustrations are embedded within the text, all profile drawings and colour photographs (which are definitely a welcome addition) comprise the final segment of the book, which otherwise consists of seven chapters: *Einleitung* (I); *Forschungsgeschichte* (II); *Die rote Feinkeramik von Aizanoi* (III); *Fundkontexte* (IV); *Typologie und Katalog der lokalen Feinkeramik* (V); *Typologie und Katalog der importierten Sigillata* (VI); and *Schlussbetrachtung* (VII). Most of the book is relevant to those studying Hellenistic- and Roman-period pottery from Asia Minor (e.g. chapters III, V and VI), others may nonetheless also find information to their liking. Chapter II (*Forschungsgeschichte*), for example, provides an overview of some of the major excavations at Aizanoi over the past few decades - with clear excavation drawings - and is definitely an asset.

The purpose of this monograph is to present and discuss the typological and chronological framework of the locally manufactured red slip tableware, as well as its relation to imported categories of terra sigillata and red slip ware. The material employed was excavated between 1981 and 2001, with that which was excavated between 1981 and 1991 no longer having a clear stratigraphic provenance. A. avoids using the term 'terra sigillata' for the local products, but instead coins *lokale rote Feinkeramik*, where perhaps Aizanoi Red Slip Ware might have been a better choice. After all, wasters and the results of laboratory analyses published elsewhere (but which are not discussed in this book) make a strong case for its manufacture in and/or near, and thus typical of, Aizanoi. A. generally succeeds in meeting the book's objective, as it not only thoroughly

describes and discusses the locally-manufactured repertoire; typo-chronological relations with imported terra sigillata and red slip ware emerge throughout the text. What underpins the local *Formen*-repertoire, throughout its period of manufacture, is a combination of *Formen* that were manufactured also elsewhere (labelled somewhat unhappily as *imitierten Formen*) as well as 'local' *Formen*. This interesting phenomenon can be observed also elsewhere, and has the potential to reveal socio-cultural and artisanal decision-making processes. The latter group in particular signifies the 'lokaler Kulturträger' found in the title, although that topic does not fully come to the fore, particularly in the otherwise interesting last chapter (VII).

The arduous task of constructing a sound typo-chronological framework - in this case for slipped tablewares - presents a number of methodological choices and challenges, and this book suffers from these to some extent. First, there is a lack of a quantified dimension concerning the material on which the typology is based. In quite a number of cases, for instance, a particular *Form* is represented by merely one example. Even if these *Formen* may be highly characteristic for any one reason, the potential of replication of the typo-chronological framework as presented by A. more generally should be tested with future research. Also, the relative chronology assigned to each *Form* is predominantly based on the stratigraphy, the absolute dating of which in turn largely relies on the numismatic evidence, in addition to imported terra sigillata and red slip ware. It is hoped that this overall approach can also be tested in future research, given coins' notoriety as a reliable dating tool. Furthermore, the possibility of a fragment being either residual or intrusive is not considered, which is somewhat worrying as the author had to deal with *in der Regel [...] sehr stark fragmentiertes Keramikmaterial*. The start of the *lokale rote Feinkeramik* at Aizanoi - the later 2nd century BC - comes surprisingly early within the general Late Hellenistic-Early Roman Imperial framework of terra sigillata production, and is in fact based on very little evidence.

Whereas the outline of A.'s typological framework adds up, when viewed more closely a number of oddities crop up. Determining when something is a shape in its own right or rather a variant can be an intuitive exercise, involving 'lumpers' and 'splitters', albeit a more structured approach can (also) be employed (e.g. David Clarke's artefact-attribute system). Whereas this implies that there may not be one true answer, some fine-tuning would have improved the framework. For example, the minor differences in detail between *Platten* 4 and 5 mirror the question about *Form* or variant. Also, why distinguish *Platten* 4 and 5, but not the two examples of *Platte* 8, which do not resemble each other? And what makes *Schale* 2 (especially that on the left on *Tafel* 14) different from *Napf* 2? More generally, some *Schüsseln* are very much like *Schalen*. Also, *Schale* 27 finds a rather good parallel in forms 1C120 and 1C121 of the local typology of Sagalassos Red Slip

Ware, a comparison which is further supported by the date range. Some shapes, especially some of the later 4th- and 5th-century AD *Formen* with a horizontal rim, bear resemblance to so-called Late Roman Light-Coloured Ware, presumably from the northeast Aegean. For a number of *Formen*, the logic of the parallels cited is not always easy to follow. Finally, noteworthy is the limited discussion of Italian Sigillata, not only in chapter II, but in the book throughout. Italian Sigillata after all had a significant impact - directly or indirectly - on a number of Eastern Sigillata categories, most notably Eastern Sigillata A and B.

Despite the completion of actual research some years ago, the bibliography lacks some important recent references. These include John Hayes' 2008 volume that deals with the imported finds from the Athenian Agora, as well as Michel Bonifay's 2004 monograph on Tunisia. Furthermore, recently published evidence from Ephesos suggests that the manufacture and - regional - distribution of Eastern Sigillata B continued into the mid-3rd century AD. Similarly, Paul Reynolds' 2010 article, which includes evidence from Beirut, argues that Eastern Sigillata A enjoyed a regionalised distribution into the mid-3rd century AD.

These and other shortcomings, however, do not change our view on the importance of this book for a wider understanding of tableware manufacture in Roman-period Asia Minor. One of the more interesting aspects is in fact the postulated, relatively strong influence of slipped pottery produced in and/or around Pergamon, an area known for the manufacture of pottery in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Yet A. raises the important question, why Pergamene pottery then not dominated the import spectrum. Here, presumably, a more complex system of the exchange of goods and ideas underlies these observations. Another interesting matter is the contemporary manufacture of *graue Keramik* next to *rote Feinkeramik*. The former was produced since the Iron Age, and testifies to the continuation of technology and/or taste, whereas the *rote Feinkeramik* marked a change from the Late Hellenistic period onwards. Shapes and decorative motifs were exchanged between these two categories, and perhaps it were the same workshops that produced both, with only the firing stage being a separate process. Here, A. succeeds in making clear that a functional category - whether ceramic or other - needs to be studied in conjunction with others, so as to obtain a more comprehensive picture of ancient artisanal and social customs. For one, Tafel 75.5 - which shows both *graue Keramik* and *rote Feinkeramik* - at the very least suggests an interesting use of colours.

It is A.'s merit to present in detail a locally manufactured red slip tableware, that clearly demonstrates the importance of local pottery production amidst pan-Mediterranean ceramic production and exchange. Even if this book does not fully succeed in penetrating into the local community at Roman-period Aizanoi, it nevertheless contains a number of valuable approaches and observations to be considered by future researchers in this field.

Philip Bes

KERSTIN HÖGHAMMAR / BRITA ALROTH / ADAM LINDHAGEN (eds), *Ancient Ports. The Geography of Connections. Proceedings of an International Conference at the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, 23-25 September 2010*. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 34. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2016. 346 pp., 82 figs, 14 tab., 5 pl., 28 cm (Boreas 34) - ISBN 978-91-554-9609-8.

The aim of this collection of 11 conference papers is to illustrate and explain the peculiar traits and functions of ports in the ancient Mediterranean as places of economic, social, and cultural contact and exchange. Given that these are conference proceedings, there is some dissimilarity in the contributions in style, approach, and quality. This dissimilarity stems from the fact that the volume includes work from a diverse group of scholars, and work in various stages of maturity. In this review I would like to focus on differences in approach.

The approaches taken in the various studies included in this volume fall within a broad range. On one extreme end we find traditional finds-driven approaches. For example, the study by K. Höghammar comprises methodic and careful considerations of archaeological data indicating Koan contacts overseas. First of all, she focuses on inscriptions recording the awarding of *proxenos* privileges by Kos, contrasted against those that record the same privileges awarded to Koans by others. Similarly, she contrasts the provenance of foreign bronze coins found in Kos, against locations where Koan bronze coins are found overseas, bearing in mind that bronze coins are generally meant for local circulation only. Finally, she traces which states and poleis supported the Panhellenic status of the Asklepieion, by records from Kos, contrasted by mentions of the Asklepieion and its games overseas. From this evidence Höghammar concludes that Kos was a significant actor on three geographic levels in the Hellenistic period: in the sealand along the west-coast of Asia Minor, within the Aegean, and in the wider Mediterranean.

The study by G. Kokkorou-Alevras et al. is based on finds, primarily pottery, from excavations at the sanctuary of Apollo near Halasarna, and extensive field-surveys in the environs of Halasarna. The material allows for a diachronic overview of contacts overseas, and the study convincingly argues that Halasarna served as a significant local node for this purpose. In addition, it is argued that the Halasarna area served as an important production center for Koan wine and amphorae in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

On the other extreme end, in terms of approaches, we find theory-driven studies. For example, the contribution by S. Keay is an argument for integrating data from various parts of the Mediterranean in order to quantify to a greater degree the economic growth and integration of these various parts in the Roman Imperial period. He argues that contrasting the expansion of the consumer port of Rome against similar expan-

sions at supplier ports such as Hispalis and Leptis Magna can reveal much about the degree of economic integration, as well as the mechanics behind it.

G. Boetto's contribution discusses the link between Rome and its ports to the upper reaches of the Tiber and its tributaries, by discussing 'transport zones' fit for particular types of shipping. Her thesis is inferred from archaeological remains at Portus and Ostia, ship-building techniques, and hydrological studies of the Tiber and its tributaries.

In addition to the contribution by Boetto, two other studies focus on the connection between ports and interior territories. Both take a more traditional approach. The contribution by Z.H. Archibald is based on textual and epigraphic evidence and reconstructs a network of contacts in ancient Thrace. The practicalities of this network is contextualized by a discussion of an 18th century parallel of riverine and maritime travel. The study by A. Bonnier discusses a wealth of archaeological data which testifies to intensive contacts between the Corinthian Gulf and the Achaian uplands, and that these contacts were to a great degree shaped by geographical realities.

A. Lindhagen employs an integrated approach relying on geographical, archaeological, and textual evidence to paint a vivid picture of the development of the site of Naronia in Dalmatia throughout antiquity. This study compellingly illustrates the bearing political and commercial circumstances can have on the development of a port-settlement. Similar to Lindhagen, S. Malmberg takes an integrated approach, and paints a similarly vivid picture of the development of Ravenna throughout antiquity. In Ravenna it appears that military considerations influenced the political and commercial circumstances. Especially the establishment of a permanent naval-base in the Roman period appears to have catalyzed commercial and political opportunities, culminating in Ravenna becoming the capital of the Roman Empire in the West.

C. Bouras also employs an integrated approach, relying on archaeological and textual evidence to reveal a network and a hierarchy of ports in the Aegean during the Roman Imperial period. Her data do not line up to produce coherent results, suggesting that her work was still in early stages of development at that point in time.

The paper by M.C. Lentini et al. should be considered a preliminary publication of the discovery of ship-sheds at Naxos, Sicily, with considerations about the implications of these discoveries for our understanding of the site. Finally, the paper by G. Reger discusses the applicability of social-historical findings about ports of the 19th century to ports of the ancient Mediterranean. The concept of a maritime port is also contrasted against 'ports of the desert', or staging points along routes across Egypt's Eastern Desert. The paper retains a theoretical tone throughout, and serves primarily to provoke thought on a conceptual level about ports, liminality, and social and economic connectivity.

This volume is a product of our time, and must be understood in the context of the surge in interest in ports, network theory, and connectivity, following the publication of Horden and Purcell's *The corrupting sea*.

The studies in this volume provide detailed insights about the nature and functions of ports in diverse geographical settings, and at various times in antiquity, and these insights are gained through a diversity of approaches. Taken as a whole, this volume provides a broad range of insights about the particulars of ancient ports, as well as the scope of academic approaches. Consequently, the central aim of this volume is easily met, and this volume constitutes a valuable contribution to the study of ports and connectivity in the ancient Mediterranean.

Edwin de Vries

A. WILSON/M. FLOHR (eds), *Urban Craftsmen and Traders in the Roman World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016. 432 pp, 75 black and white ill.; 23.4 cm. – ISBN: 978-0-19-874848-9.

This helpful and informative volume, which brings together an impressive range of researchers from a number of (mostly European) countries, is the latest in the *Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy* series and has its origins in a workshop organised by the Oxford Roman Economy Project (OXREP) at Wolfson College in July 2011. The workshop explored the topic of urban crafts and trades, and aimed to build bridges between national scholarly traditions and disciplines, breaking down barriers between text and archaeology by integrating ancient history, archaeology, epigraphy, and papyrology. The structural organisation of the resulting volume into four sections corresponds to the four key themes explored in the workshop: the history of research; the economic strategies of craftsmen and traders; craftsmen and traders in their social environment; and the position of crafts and trades in urban space.

Urban craftsmen and traders were ubiquitous in the Roman world, and this timely volume rightly highlights their economic and social importance. While there is some engagement with theoretical discussions about the nature of the Roman economy on a macro scale, the focus is primarily on the micro scale, with many of the papers offering case studies of particular regions and urban centres, and/or particular goods. Taken as a whole, these case studies suggest that while there were certain strategies, institutions, and practices that were widespread, there was also significant variation and flexibility over both time and place, indicating that there is no single economic or social model of the Roman urban craftsman, or indeed of the Roman city.

Several papers, for example, consider specialisation and spatial clustering through case studies of particular trades or locations. While Goodman finds archaeological evidence for clustering of trades in Pompeii, Timgad, and Silchester, Droß-Krüpe's study of primarily papyrological data from Roman Egypt contends that textile crafts were scattered throughout urban centres rather than spatially concentrated. However, both authors make use of the same economic theory to explain their different findings, arguing that for frequently-purchased convenience goods - and textiles are characterised by Droß-Krüpe in this way - there are

few discernible economic benefits to clustering, whereas for infrequently-purchased comparison goods, consumers like to shop around and compare goods and prices, a process simplified by clustering. These arguments are drawn from modern comparisons (e.g. retail clustering in London's Bond Street), although there is certainly plenty of literary evidence to suggest that sellers of even the most everyday items, such as olives and olive oil, clustered together in the Athenian agora, ensuring that buyers knew exactly where to find particular goods (e.g. Xen. *Oec.* 8.22).

Spatial clustering of production units is also explained in economic rather than moral terms, with Lång focusing on the concentration of workshops in north-eastern Aquincum and Poblome exploring the pottery quarter to the east of the theatre in Sagalassos. Poblome notes that the production units in Sagalassos are small, despite the overall scale of production, and tentatively suggests a model of nucleated workshops. Even in this scenario, agglomeration would still enable some efficiency savings, such as the sharing of suppliers of raw materials, the development of networks based on knowledge and trust, the spread of information and innovation, and the establishment of local institutions. Clustering may also promote subcontracting and both horizontal and vertical specialisation, particularly in larger markets.

This relationship between specialisation and the size and nature of the market is a key theme in several other papers. Van Driel-Murray's fascinating study of the production and consumption of footwear in the North-west Provinces of the Roman empire, for example, highlights the flexibility of shoemakers, although at the same time noting that the size of the market in a city such as Rome may have encouraged considerable specialisation. Here she focuses on a single consumer good to investigate wider trends in the economy, with the ubiquity of footwear in itself taken as an indicator of increasing living standards. Ruffing also views the market as the main driving force for specialisation in crafts and trades, with the degree of specialisation proportional to the extent of the market. Both he and Rice take the level of specialisation detectable in the Roman world as a positive indicator of economic development, with Rice contending that the developed nature of Roman maritime trade can be demonstrated by the epigraphic, papyrological, and archaeological data for the specialisation of traders in particular commodities.

One of the strongest sections of the volume is devoted to the people involved in trade and commerce, addressing the social and economic benefits of apprenticeship (Freu), the economic role of women (Larsson Lovén), freedmen and agency (Broekaert), and professional associations (Tran and Arnaoutoglou). One of the key themes is the social and economic independence (or otherwise) of craftsmen, and their place within the social hierarchy, linking into recent debates about craftsmen forming a 'middle class' (e.g. E. Mayer, *The Ancient Middle Classes*, Cambridge, Mass. 2012). While Freu argues that craftsmen provide 'the best examples of the middle classes' rise in the empire' (p. 184), the concept of the middle class remains somewhat undeveloped here and is complicated by the suggestion that one of the reasons for the scarcity of detailed craftsmen's

tombs is the relative modesty of their background. Craftsmen are also identified as part of the *plebs media*, a term which appears elsewhere in the volume and is treated almost as synonymous with 'middle class', but given the scarcity of the term in extant Latin literature, its meaning is not self-evident and requires more explicit analysis. Broekaert and Tran both question the model of the economically independent freedman; the extensive use of slave and freedmen agents in the organisation of business probably limited the opportunities for independent entrepreneurs, which in itself must have implications for the urban social hierarchy and the nature of any middle class.

The individual studies as a whole are put into their wider context by a section focusing on the intellectual history of the study of Roman craftsmen and traders. A chapter by the editors, Andrew Wilson and Miko Flohr, traces scholarly approaches in Germany, Britain, and the US from the early 19th century onwards, and is followed by chapters on the Italian and French traditions. Salvaterra and Cristofori emphasise that one of the reasons for the centrality of Italian scholarship in this area is the importance of the concept of labour in shaping the social, political, and constitutional structures of Italy in the 20th century, while Brun's chapter focuses largely on recent French approaches to the excavation of workshops, which have privileged the archaeological material over theoretical considerations. Monteix's later paper on the processes of production in bakeries at Pompeii provides an excellent example of this so-called 'French approach'. Such explicit considerations of the intellectual background that implicitly shape studies of urban crafts and trades are often neglected, and their inclusion here is to be welcomed, particularly as these contributions go well beyond the well-worn 'primitivist-modernist' debate.

The volume is well-illustrated, although it would have been good if the publishers had printed the maps in colour, as the details on some of these (for example, fig. 7.1; 13.7; 16.1) are not easy to discern in black and white. Otherwise the volume is well produced and is a welcome addition to this newly established but highly influential series.

Claire Holleran

NATHAN T. ELKINS, *Monuments in Miniature: Architecture on Roman Coinage*. New York: The American Numismatic Society, 2015. 230 pp., 222 figs, maps; 30.5 cm (Numismatic Studies 29). – ISBN 978-0-89722-344-7.

Bei der hier besprochenen Arbeit von Nathan T. Elkins handelt es sich um die überarbeitete Fassung einer 2010 an der Universität von Missouri eingereichten und bereits in einzelnen Aufsätzen publizierten Dissertationsschrift zu römischen Münzen mit Architekturdarstellungen. Unter Architektur versteht Elkins die von Vitruv beschriebenen Bautypen. Darstellungen von Statuen, kleinen Altären und Ähnlichem schließt er hingegen aus der Materialgrundlage aus (S. 11-12). Das gut lektorierte Buch umfasst 230 Seiten und 221 großteils qualitätvolle Abbildungen (Abbildung 18

fehlt) hauptsächlich von maßstabsgetreu abgedruckten Münzen. Auf ein Vorwort und eine Liste der genutzten Abkürzungen folgen eine Einführung, vier chronologisch bzw. geographisch gegliederte Kapitel zur römischen Republik, der frühen und mittleren Kaiserzeit, dem 3. bis 5. Jh. und Provinzialprägungen sowie eine Zusammenfassung. Anstelle eines Katalogs sind dem Text vier Tabellen als Appendices angehängt, die abweichend zum Aufbau des Textes die kaiserlichen Prägungen mit Architekturdarstellungen chronologisch aufführen. Eine Bibliographie und ein Index schließen den Band ab.

In der klar strukturierten Einführung (S. 1-13) informiert Elkins den Leser über seine Ziele. Er möchte wissen, warum man in der späten Republik in Rom damit begonnen hat, Architekturdarstellungen auf Münzen zu prägen, welche Rolle diese Münzen im Verlauf der Republik und Kaiserzeit spielten und warum Architekturdarstellungen im Laufe der Spätantike in ihrem Aussehen zunehmend topischer wurden. Da das Thema der römischen Architekturdarstellungen auf Münzen im Grenzgebiet mehrerer moderner wissenschaftlicher Disziplinen angesiedelt sei, müssten dabei Aspekte der Numismatik, der Bildwissenschaften und der Feldforschung gleichrangig berücksichtigt werden. So sei es bspw. wichtig, das Mengenverhältnis der einzelnen meist sehr kleinen Prägesserien im Vergleich zu den übrigen Darstellungsthemen der jeweiligen Zeit im Blick zu behalten; ferner möchte Elkins die Münzen nicht, wie bis weit ins 20. Jh. hinein, als Hilfsmittel zur Rekonstruktion antiker Bauten nutzen. Eine detailgetreue Darstellung der Architektur habe nämlich nur in begrenztem Maße in der Absicht der Münzmeister gelegen. Vielmehr seien die Münzbilder in ihren kommunikativen Qualitäten vor einem breiteren gesellschaftlichen Hintergrund ernst zu nehmen, was bislang nur vereinzelt geschehen sei. Daneben gälte es aber auch, anhand von Kontextanalysen der Frage nachzugehen, inwieweit Münzbilder gezielt auf unterschiedliche Gruppen des Römischen Reiches abgestimmt worden seien.

Zu Beginn des ersten, den republikanischen Münzen gewidmeten Kapitels streicht Elkins - implizit in strukturalistischen Denkweisen verhaftet - heraus, dass Architekturdarstellungen auf Münzen ein genuin römisches Phänomen seien, obwohl vergleichbare Prägungen vereinzelt auch bei griechischen und persischen Münzen seit dem 6. Jh. v.Chr. begegnen (S. 15-21). Anschließend handelt er die in Abbildung 41 zusammengestellten Münztypen mit Architekturdarstellungen aus der Zeit von 135 bis 36 v.Chr. ab, die er mehrheitlich als Verweise auf die Familie der Münzmeister, nach 88 v. Chr. auch auf zeitgenössische politische Diskurse versteht (S. 21-39). Das Aufkommen römischer Architekturdarstellungen auf römischen Münzen wird nicht allein durch die Lex Gabia von 139 v.Chr. begründet, sondern Elkins verdichtet die Argumentation durch den Verweis auf die starke öffentliche Bautätigkeit und deren Rolle im politischen Diskurs seit mittelrepublikanischer Zeit sowie die Entwicklung der römischen Wandmalerei vom Ersten zum Zweiten Stil. Diese intermediären Beobachtungen sieht Elkins als Beleg für eine allgemein gesteigerte Sensibilisierung der späten

Republik auf Architektur, in deren Kontext auch das Aufkommen von Architekturdarstellungen auf Münzen verständlich würde (S. 40-52). Seine Versuche, die Bedeutung der Lex Gabia (in deren Folge eine Ausdifferenzierung von Bildthemen auf römischen Münzen zu beobachten ist, zu denen de facto auch die ersten Architekturdarstellungen gehören) zu relativieren, können aber nur bedingt überzeugen. Zwar ist an der Bedeutung von Architektur im gesellschaftlichen und künstlerischen Diskurs der späten Republik, in dem sich auch ein gesteigertes Interesse für perspektivische Darstellungen in verschiedenen Materialgattungen belegen lässt, nicht zu zweifeln. Dennoch lässt sich eine ausgeprägte stadtrömische Bauaktivität literarisch bereits für die erste Hälfte des 2. Jhs. belegen und der Übergang in der Wandmalerei vom Ersten (auch schon Architektur imitierenden!) zum Zweiten Stil findet erst ein halbes Jahrhundert nach Aufkommen der ersten Architekturdarstellungen auf römischen Münzen statt.

Im zweiten Kapitel bespricht Elkins die in Abbildung 157-158 zusammengestellten Münzen mit Architekturdarstellungen von Augustus bis Alexander Severus (S. 53-105). Er versteht die Bilder, wie üblich, als 'staatlich sanktionierte Kunst', um Restaurierungen oder Neubaumaßnahmen der Kaiser zu betonen, an Leistungen ihrer Vorgänger anzuknüpfen bzw. die jeweiligen Herrschaftskonzepte zu kommunizieren. Eine diachrone Auswertung zeigt ferner, dass unter Augustus Siegesmonumente und Heiligtümer, unter Claudius Bogenarchitekturen und von neronischer bis trajanischer Zeit vor allem Profanbauten wie Macella, Häfen oder Circusdarstellungen geprägt wurden, durch die die Kaiser stärker als zuvor ihre Fürsorge für das Wohlergehen der Bevölkerung zum Ausdruck brachten. Überzeugend zeigt Elkins wie mit dem Wechsel von Bautypen und der damit einhergehenden stärkeren Adressierung breiterer Bevölkerungsschichten seit neronischer Zeit auch ein Wechsel in den Nominalen von Gold- und Silbermünzen zu den häufiger im Alltag verwendeten Bronzeprägungen einhergeht. Damit berührt Elkins einen der aktuell spannendsten Bereiche numismatischer Forschung, nämlich die Frage, ob und wie verschiedene Gesellschaftsschichten gezielt durch Münzen angesprochen werden sollten. Diesem Aspekt geht Elkins anschließend für die flavischen und trajanischen Münzen auch in regionaler Hinsicht nach und untersucht die Verbreitung von Münzen mit oftmals stadtrömischen Monumenten vergleichend in Italien und den Nordwestprovinzen. Im Unterschied zu anderen Studien, die sich auf Militärlager oder Gräber konzentrierten, zeichnet sich dabei allerdings kein eindeutiges Bild ab. Allein die Münzen mit der Aqua Traiana wurden hauptsächlich in Rom und Umgebung gefunden, was vor dem Hintergrund des sehr heterogenen Forschungsstandes zu Fundmünzen in Italien und den Nordwestprovinzen aber keine weiterführenden Aussagen erlaubt. Seit Hadrian (mit einer Ausnahme unter den Severern) geht die Zahl an Gebäudetypen auf Münzen zurück und man konzentriert sich auf u. a. mit dem Kaiserkult verbundene Sakralbauten (S. 105-118).

Im dritten, der Zeit ab den Soldatenkaisern gewidmeten Kapitel beschreibt Elkins zunächst die veränderten historischen Hintergründe, die eine Zunahme kaiserlicher Münzprägestätten bedingten (S. 119-120). Dies

führte laut Elkins tendenziell zu einer Topisierung der Münzdarstellungen, die nun variabel für unterschiedliche Adressatenkreise fungieren mussten. Im 3. Jh. wurden nur *prostyle* Tempel mit zwei bis zehn Säulen und Rundtempel abgebildet, in denen an verschiedenen Orten lediglich die mittig stehenden Gottheiten (Roma, Juno, Vulkan, Mars, Herkules oder Segetia) ausgetauscht wurden. Unter den Tetrachen treten daneben *camp gates* und *tomb types* vergöttlichter Vorgänger auf, die je nach Beischrift für unterschiedliche Personen oder Städte stehen konnten. Im Laufe des 4. Jhs. werden Kaiserdarstellungen unter einer Bogenarchitektur geläufig. Lediglich die Darstellung einer von Elkins mit Restaurierungsmaßnahmen einer Donaubrücke verbundene Münze sticht aus dem Üblichen heraus (Abb. 181). Über dem Stadttor einer Prägung der Jahre 383-388 in Thessaloniki taucht schließlich ein Christogramm auf, bevor unter Valentinian III in den Jahren zwischen 425 und 435 zum letzten Mal eine Architekturdarstellung auf einer römischen Münze erscheint (S. 121-129). Als weitere Gründe für die Abnahme und Topisierung von auf Antonianen geprägten Architekturdarstellungen erwägt Elkins ferner einen Rückgang an Bautätigkeiten im 3. Jh. sowie allgemeine Veränderungen der römischen Kunst (S. 130-140 - zu den damit zusammenhängenden methodischen Problemen s.o.).

Zuletzt kommt Elkins auf die provinziellen Prägungen des 1.-3. Jhs. zu sprechen, die er aufgrund ihrer schieren Menge und schlechten Publikationslage nicht umfassend behandeln kann, sondern ausschnittshaft nach Bildthemen abhandelt (S. 141-166). Für diese vorwiegend regional verbreiteten Münzen ist oft nicht klar, ob und inwieweit Rom in die Auswahl der Bildtypen involviert war. Sie übernehmen zum Teil stadtrömische Motive, setzen aber lokale Kulte ins Bild oder zeigen eigene Profanbauten sowie Stadtansichten/Stadttore, wodurch die lokalen Identitäten gestärkt würden. Während in der frühen Kaiserzeit gelegentlich formale Anregungen aus Rom aufgegriffen würden (etwa bei einem der stadtrömischen Curiaprägung entlehnten Tempel des Juba II.), wären interessanterweise in der späten Kaiserzeit einige in den Provinzen entwickelte Bildtypen (bspw. die *camp gates*) umgekehrt in Stadtröm aus der Provinz übernommen worden.

Elkins gelingt mit dem vorliegenden Buch ein ausgezeichnete Überblick über das Thema römischer Architekturdarstellungen auf Münzen vom 2. Jh. v.Chr. bis ins 5. Jh. n.Chr. Ferner lässt sich das Buch als Katalog benutzen, der einen schnellen Zugriff auf einzelne Münztypen mit (allerdings nur) ausgewählter Diskussion erlaubt, auf die im Einzelnen aus Platzgründen hier nicht näher eingegangen wurde. Die Stärken des Buches liegen dabei weniger im bildwissenschaftlichen oder philologischen Bereich (eine konkrete und ernsthaft intermedial vergleichende Arbeit an den einzelnen Bildern mit ihren jeweiligen Darstellungsstrategien sowie eine Einbeziehung literarischer Quellen zur Rezeption kaiserlicher Bautätigkeit - vgl. A. Scheithauer, *Kaiserzeitliche Bautätigkeit in Rom* (Stuttgart 2000) - bleiben vielfach aus), als vielmehr auf dem numismatischen Sektor, wobei hier vor allem die Frage der gezielten Adressierung römischer Münzbilder auf der Grundlage unterschiedlicher Nominale als Gewinn

herauszustreichen ist. Elkins hier nur in Teilen angezweifelte Thesen zu Aufkommen, Entwicklung und Verschwinden von Architekturdarstellungen auf römischen Münzen werden die Diskussion zweifellos bereichern.

Johannes Lipps

RUNE FREDERIKSEN/ELIZABETH R. GEBHARD/ALEXANDER SOKOLICEK (eds), *The Architecture of the Ancient Greek Theatre. Acts of an International Conference at the Danish Institute at Athens 27-30 January 2012*. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2015. 468 pp, ills.; 28 cm (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens, 17). - ISBN 978-87-7124.

This rich collection of twenty six conference papers not only focuses on the architecture of ancient Greek theatres (mainly in Greece and Asia Minor) but also on the transformations that they underwent in the Roman period. Often, we are also informed about their social, religious and/or political functions.

In the Introduction the editors summarize all contributions. The following six essays have a general character. H.P. Isler discusses studies on Greek theatres since ca 1450, and he suggests topics for future research: e.g. the theatre's function in the community, topographical settings, the history of *proskenia*, and regional studies (see below). He holds that raised stone *proskenia* appeared at the end of the 4th century and not around 150 BC as is usually thought (p. 25, cf. pp. 164-166, 199, 272, 354). C. Papastamati-von Moock's paper is seminal as it sheds new light on the theatre of Dionysos Eleuthereus in Athens (ca 500 BC). Three post holes with remains of wood in the *koilon*, and texts of Aristophanes, Xenophon and Suda show that until ca 350 BC the *theatron* (spectator space) was pi-shaped or trapezoidal with *ikria* (seats) resting on square poles. The data confirm C. Anti's hypothesis of 1947 (see also pp. 23-25). The stage building was of wood too. The famous Würzburg sherd (Apulian, ca 350 BC) gives an idea of its form. From a nice reconstruction (p. 71, fig. 18) we can infer where the tetralogies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were performed by actors and *chorus*: probably on the same ground level. Papastamati suggests that Pericles who built the nearby Odeion about 450 BC wanted to make a semicircular auditorium, possibly suggested by his mathematical teacher Meton (cf. Aristophanes, *Birds* 992-1009). Apart from a curved inner retaining wall, the project was not realized. It seems that the plan of the semicircular or horseshoe-shaped stone *theatron* spread from Athens or Epidauros to elsewhere, e.g. Halikarnassos, after ca 350 BC (pp. 306-309). R. Frederiksen examines the monumentalised *koila*, 'the driving forces of theatre design,' before and after the invention of the semicircular design. A. Sokolicek's paper focuses on the rectangular form and function of the earliest Greek theatres comparing them with semicircular places like the Pnyx and the assembly buildings in Metaponto and Paestum. E. Gebhard analyzes the effects of the sunken *orchestra* (sunken because of the shallow slope) on Greek theatre

design by studying the theatre at the Isthmos (ca 400 BC). J.-C. Moretti and C. Mauduit analyze the Greek vocabulary of theatrical architecture, also that of the Imperial age.

Then follows a series of more specialist reports, the results of recent, often international excavations, and new investigations of thirteen Hellenistic theatres in: Iasos (F. Berti/N. Masturzo/M. Vittori), Ephesos (M. Hofbauer (*skene*), and G. Styhler-Aydin (*koilon*)), Sikyon (C. Hayward/Y. Lolos), Dodona (G. Antoniou), Corinth (D. Scahill), Messene (P. Themelis/K. Sidiropoulos), Kastabos in Caria (C. Wilkening-Aumann), Maroneia (Karadima et al.), Aigeira (W. Gauß et al.), Halikarnassos (P. Pedersen/S. Isager), Nea Paphos in Cyprus (J.A. Green/ C. Barker/G. Stennett), Apollonia in Illyria (S. Franz/V. Hinz), and Patara in Turkey (K. Piesker). C. Marconi and D. Scahill interpret the theatrical, linear 'South Building' on the akropolis of Selinus as cultic and date it to 550-500 BC. Antoniou's research stands out because of using laser scanning and the Digital Terrain Model (DTM). Most reports deal with topics like research history, building phases, materials, repairs, restorations, *koilon/cavea* (*theatron*), *kerkis*, *diazoma*, *vomiterium*, *epitheatron*, *velum*, *prohedria*, *orchestra*, stage building (*skene*, *proskenion*, (*logeion/pulpitum*)), *episkenion*, *thyroma*, *scaenae frontes*, *hyposkenion*, movable stages, *skenothekai*, *parodoi*, *analemmata*, gates, drains, tunnels, parapets, measurements units, masonry styles, incised and masons' marks, and inscriptions. As for the transition to Roman forms, A. Öztürk examines the development of the raised stage in Asia Minor, i.e., the transition from *proskenion* to *scaenae frons*. Piesker (mentioned above), V. di Napoli (pp. 365-380) and H.P. Isler (pp. 433-447) make clear that, since the Augustan age, some theatres did not undergo alterations, while others got e.g. a *pulpitum* or a *columnatio*, keeping, however, some traditional Greek elements, and thus creating hybrid buildings. *Cavea* and stage building rarely formed one whole as they did in the West. The *scaenarum frontes* in the East were straight and almost never decorated with rectangular and curved niches as in the West. Interestingly, Vitruvius' ahistorical description of the Greek theatre deviates from earlier, real theatres, maybe with one exception, the theatre at Kastabos (pp. 239-241, 244). His Greek and Roman designs have, in combination, influenced the layout of the new theatre in Aphrodisias, which is dated to 30-27 BC (studied by N. de Chaisemartin; pp. 398-399, figs 7-8). The orientation of theatres was not fixed as architects usually sought a suitable slope for a *koilon*. Studying theatres in one region may be problematic as, for example, Boeotian theatres, studied by M. Germani, had *koila* without seats although there was no regional, common building program.

The non-expensive book is well readable, carefully edited and very well illustrated, with many colour and some 3D model photos. Each chapter has its own bibliography; at the end follows an excellent thematic one. There are no general conclusions, probably because of the diversity of the theatres and because much work is in progress. The index of names and places is good but not exhaustive. The index of subjects misses important words like *epitheatron*, *euergetism*, *hyposkenion*, iden-

tity, performance, *koinon*, *pinakes*, rectangular theatre, spoliation, tunnel, and wood. There are few typos (p. 177: *perioikodomiae* > *perioikodomiai*; p. 358: *prothira* > *prothyra*). The word *tribunatio* (p. 213) does not exist in ancient Latin. The list of contributors with their addresses and e-mail-addresses will stimulate exchange of ideas. Though rather a book for consultation than a handbook, it should be present in every professional library.

L. Bouke van der Meer

ANNE-MARIA WITKE (ed.), *Frühgeschichte der Mittelmeerkulturen. Historisch-archäologisches Handbuch*. Stuttgart: Verlag J.B. Metzler, 2015. xv, 1275 cc, 17 maps; 24.5 cm (Der Neue Pauly Supplemente Band 10). – ISBN 978-3-476-02470-1.

This handbook deals with the (pre- and proto-)history of Mediterranean cultures 'from the end of the Bronze Age until the historical period,' roughly from 1200 until 600 BC, though often earlier and later periods are briefly discussed too. In the Introduction the editor explains the structure of the book. Then follow three sections: 1. The Mediterranean area which focuses on landscapes, chronology and periodization, cultures and culture contacts, written and material sources, and the research history from the 18th century to postcolonial, Braudelian, top-down (global) and bottom up (local) approaches; 2. Regions (in clockwise direction): the Iberian peninsula, Southern France and Central Europe, Italy with Sardinia and Sicily, continental South East Europe, Greece and the Greek islands, Asia Minor, the eastern Mediterranean (Syria, Palestine, Northern Arabia and Cyprus), Northern Africa and the Canary islands; 3. Aspects of culture contact: settling (as for 'colonization', see cc. 836-846) and mobility, society and *Herrschaft* (head men, Big Men, *capi guerrieri*, chiefdoms), religion, war and war practice, economy and raw materials, the legal development in the east, and technology and early science. The appendix contains lists of abbreviations like FZE: *Frühheisenzeit* (cc. 1081-1095 which readers should consult first), indices of geography, persons, and themes, a survey of chronological systems with a bibliography, a synopsis of relative chronologies, chronological tables, and maps concludes the book.

The regions are divided into micro-regions, local cultures, and key places (cities and sanctuaries), all with bibliographies. On this sublevel geography, settlements and burials, phases, written sources, ethnicity, social structure, expansion, influences, economic resources, and cultural relations are often dealt with. In countless *lemmata* (all in German) seventy three specialists describe concisely but pointedly, often quoting specialist opinions, cultures and their short, middle and long distance contacts with other ones. They often summarize contrasting opinions, which shows that many problems are unsolved, for instance, the question of the low and high chronologies, of which the latter is based on radiocarbon research (cc. 61-62, 296). The editor's choice for 1200 BC as starting point of the book is related to the (palace) system collapse in Greece and the Hittite state (c. 2), and migrations of Libyan nomads and the so-called Sea Peoples. Some of the lat-

ter may have originated from the eastern (also Protovillanovan?) urn-fields (c. 207), but several from the Aegean region and Anatolia (cc. 87, 622, 670, 756). Drought and other natural catastrophes are supposed to have led to the *Seevölkersturm* on the Egyptian delta between 1224 and 1151 BC (cc. 755-757, 1040). The choice for 600 BC as final point is connected with the end of the Orientalizing period which, however, in some regions (Etruria, Campania, Umbria and Iberia) lasted until ca 575/550 BC.

It is impossible to comment on all the contributions. Some critical remarks can be made. Some texts are not easy to digest. For instance, we read under the heading *Archäologie und Proto-Globalisierung* (c. 102): 'Daher (i.e. against a fragmentation of the archaeology of the Mediterranean) gehören mittlerweile Konzepte wie *middle ground*, Hybridität und *métissage*, aber auch globalisierungstheoretische Theoreme wie Netzwerk und Glocalität zum kanonischen Theorie- und Methodenbewusstsein einer zeitadäquaten Mittelmeerraum-Archäologie.' Unfortunately, the concept *middle ground* is defined only on c. 254 as a contact zone where incomers ('colonists') and indigenous people met each other; *glocalisation* (a neologism derived from global and local) means the interweaving of local and global (external) influences (cc. 81-82) which resulted in a cultural mix (*métissage*), hybrid artefacts and styles. A definition of culture is lacking. C. Ulf (c. 75) quotes E.B. Tylor (*Primitive culture*, London 1871): '...a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom...' which, among other characteristics, does not mention language as an important feature though it does not always overlap material culture and *ethnos* (for ethnicity, see cc. 834-836, 934). Further, there are simplifications. For example, B. Schweizer suggests that the shift to dedicating precious gifts to sanctuaries instead of to burials in Greece around 750 BC also took place in the Etrusco-Latial context about a century later (c. 934). What happened in *Latium vetus* and Rome around 630 BC, however, did not happen in Etruria, with the exception of Veii. J. Rüpke suggests that Etruscan, scribal and priestly divination (*Etrusca disciplina*) was a reaction to Roman expansion (c. 899). However, the *heroon* in front of the Ara della Regina temple in Tarquinia, probably shows that Tages, the ephemeris *puer/senex* who revealed the *disciplina*, was already worshipped in the 6th century BC, therefore long before Rome's aggression. In Chapter 3.7.1 (Sprachen und Schriften) G. Meiser deals with script systems, not with languages.

The book is well edited apart from some errors. For instance, *Velzna* is not the Etruscan name of Felsina/Bononia (c. 272), but of *Volsinii veteres* and *Volsinii novi* (Orvieto and Bolsena; see *ET* Vs 6.5). *Matalia* is the name of Massalia (Marseille), not *Mataliai* (c. 273) which is its locative. *Kurthute* is a male personal name (see *ET* Cl. 1.1976), not the name of Cortona (cc. 275, 1262: map 4) which is *Curtun* (< **Curtuna*). *Kraikalus* (c. 276) is not a nominative but the genitive of *Kraikalū* (see *ET* Fe 2.7). *Perusna* on map 4 is non-existent in Etruscan. *Pyrgi* and *Gravisca* are not harbour cities (cc. 285-286) but extra-urban ports of trade with sanctuaries. The handbook misses a definition of the concept 'city' and analyses of its origin in several regions. Etruscan chariot graves date from the 7th and 6th centuries BC, not only

from after 550 BC (c. 954). As for spelling, *cittā* should be read *cittā* (c. 900), *epikuros* as *epikouros* (c. 964) and *buloimenos* as *boulomenos* (c. 1030).

The handbook is, also thanks to the countless cross references, the often up-to-date bibliographies, and the indices, a *Fundgrube* for specialists and students of ancient social, economic and religious history, Mediterranean archaeologies, and archaeological theory. Topics like the relations between societies (c. 884) and climate changes (cc. 48, 981-982) will stimulate further research.

L. Bouke van der Meer

STEPHANIE LYNN BUDIN/JEAN MACINTOSH TURFA (eds), *Women in antiquity. Real women across the Ancient World*. London/New York: Routledge. Taylor & Francis Group, 2016. xxxvi + 1074 pp., ill., maps; 26 cm. – ISBN 978-1-138-80836-2 (hbk).

This more than bible-sized, fascinating compilation of papers on real women in antiquity appears in the Routledge series *Rewriting Antiquity*. It consists of seventy four chapters presented in ten parts: Mesopotamia, Egypt (among others on Gurob, Deir-el-Medina, Amarna, and Nubia), the Hittites, Cyprus, the Levant (Mari, Emar, Bronze Age Ugarit and Canaan, Iron Age Israel and Philistia) and Carthage, the Aegean, Bronze Age and (the) historical (Greek world), Etruria and the Italian archipelago, Rome, At the edges (Amazons, Iberia, the Celtic world, and Scandinavia), and Coda, dedicated to Continuities in rape and tyranny in martial societies from antiquity until now (compare the contrasting Neo-Assyrian practice during mass deportations (P.L. Day, pp. 521-532)). Each section has a historical introduction with a timetable, written by the editors. The chapters are presented in chronological order with excellent bibliographies, and often with clear conclusions. For the titles of the chapters, written by experts, often based on their monographs, see <https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/1183449>.

Editor S.L. Budin aims to show 'several different aspects of women in the ancient world,' however, without dealing with methodical problems, and without asking precise research questions. Nevertheless, most authors try, without presentism, to reconstruct the conditions, daily life, social roles, status and power of women, often in male-dominated, non-egalitarian societies, with the use of archaeological data (cities, sanctuaries, votive deposits, villages, (military) settlements, palaces and houses; burials and artefacts (mainly seals, figurines, statues and votive gifts; Daunian stelae, Greek grave reliefs), iconography, epigraphy, cuneiform, linear B texts and literary sources, anthropology, and ethnography. The evidence may be accidental (due to long period and case studies), fragmentary or problematic, for example in images: is a real, mythical figure or goddess meant? (e.g.: p. 410, fig. 28.6). Sexing of women in burials is difficult if they have male grave goods, and if males have female ones (see e.g. p. 1032). In addition, written sources may be biased because of their male based and elite character. Many chapters deal with daily life, identity, life stages, marriage, sexuality, divorce and adultery (and their legal aspects), the hazards of

pregnancy and parturition (often in seated position), nursing, motherhood, health and medicine, diseases, death, harems, prostitution, midwives, female slaves, house(hold)- (food preparation and textile production, water procurement), rural, and other economic functions (in trade and on markets), ritual (e.g. in funerals and festivals) and cultic or religious activities of women as priestesses (often having a high status) or dedicants. It appears that there is hardly evidence for polygyny and sacred prostitution (pp. 19, 81, 332, 392, 450, 517, 544; cf. S.L. Budin, *The Myth of Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity*. Cambridge, 2008).

Because of space, I hint briefly at some important aspects. Rather new in gender studies is bio-archaeological research. See J. Monge and P. Selinksy, on violence against women at Hasanlu in Iran (pp. 138-155), R. David, on Egyptian women (pp. 181-193; cancer and caries were rare!), K.O. Lorentz, S.L. Budin, J.M. Webb, on bones from very different periods at Cyprus (pp. 349-360, 369-371, 378-379), J. Prag, on Minoan and Mycenaean women's faces (pp. 561-572), S.C. Fox, on women in Greece (pp. 647-659), F. Lo Schiavo, on Nuragic women (pp. 750-755), and N.L. Wicker, on Scandinavian women (including DNA research which shows exogamy). Interestingly, the facial reconstruction of an Etruscan lady from Chiusi shows a discrepancy between her skull and the head of the lid of her terracotta sarcophagus (ca 200-150 BC) representing her younger and more beautiful than when she died (J. Swaddling; pp. 769-780).

From many chapters it appears that royal, elite women, and priestesses had power but not fully equal to that of kings (pp. 280-298; 393-395). Business women in Mesopotamian, Greek and Roman societies had a relative independence (pp. 101-112, 113-125, 714-725; 915-931). Egyptian, Mycenaean and Persian women could even be landowners (pp. 169, 240, 618-333). In some cases there is slight evidence for matriarchy, equal treatment by males or freedom from male domination, in Crete (pp. 573-594), in Nuragic Sardinia (pp. 749-768), and in the Celtic world of Britain (1008-1026). A. Mayor shows that stories about mythical Amazons have a core of truth as is testified by female warrior graves in the Black Sea region (pp. 969-985). The volume contains the *curricula vitarum* of the contributors and their pets, without mail-addresses. There is one index which, unfortunately, lacks words like banquet or conviviality, power, ritual (practice) and rites of passage (see birth, magic, marriage, purification), sport (bull-leapers, gladiators), women networks (pp. 494-495).

The editing is further almost impeccable. The inscription on the base of the statue of Phrasikleia, however, is not rendered correctly (p. 669): ...τοῦτ' λάχυσσα ὄνομα instead of τοῦτο λάχσοσ' ὄνομα as is visible on fig. 46.4, and *sema* refers to the stela rather than to the tomb. As for the (presumed) Etruscan wedding ceremony, a sarcophagus from Vulci, now in Boston (p. 815, fig. 56.2 (a non-sharp photo)), does not seem to show a *dextrarum iunctio* (clasping right hands) as the man grasps the wrist of his wife, a gesture which the Greek called χεῖρ ἐπὶ κάρπῳ (indicating a (mock) abduction or wedding) as is visible on earlier Etruscan artefacts, for example on the neck of the famous Etrusco-Corinthian Truia vase and a house cippus from Poggio Gaiella (see reviewer, Etrusco ritu. *Case Studies in Etruscan Ritual*

Behaviour. Louvain/Walpole, MA 2011, 14-19, 71-74); I. Rowland, Marriage and Mortality in the Tetnies sarcophagi, *EtrSt* 11, 2008, 151-164). In view of the age of the couple, the sarcophagus probably shows its reunion in the afterlife. Figure 28.2 is identical to 25.2, and 44.2a to 41.2. Aeschylus (p. 168) should be spelled as Aischylos or Aeschylus.

The well-written reference book is a goldmine for students of ancient history, archaeology, physical anthropology and gender studies. It deserves a place in university libraries. It will stimulate future research (for suggestions, see pp. 3, 133-134, 294, 358, 395, 473-474, 486, 656, and 840).

L. Bouke van der Meer

SINCLAIR BELL/ ALEXANDRA A. CARPINO (eds), *A Companion to the Etruscans*. Malden/Oxford: Wiley Blackwell 2016. 528 pp., many black-and-white figs, 6 colour figs, 25 cm. – ISBN 978-1-118-35274-8.

This companion has an introduction and thirty chapters which not only compile recent research on Etruscan culture but also offer new insights, among others deconstructions based on the primacy of archaeology over Greek and Latin literary sources which are held to be biased. Several papers investigate the original, autochthonous elements in Etruscan material culture that continuously underwent external influences. Also several chapters deal with questions of ethnicity, gender, identity and multiple identities. Almost all of the contributions end with conclusions, references and guides to further reading. Here follows a short summary of the *Companion's* contents, some with my short critical notes.

In Part I (History), S. Stoddart's contribution (Beginnings: Protovillanovan and Villanovan Etruria) looks for the (metallurgical) roots of Etruscan culture in the Bronze Age. While the latter period is divided into dated subphases until ca 1150 BC, the Final Bronze Age and Iron Age (first and second Villanovan phases) are without absolute dates, probably because of a different science-based chronology (see J. van der Plicht et al., *Radiocarbon* 51, 2009, 213-242). Curiously, the adjective Protovillanovan, and the reason(s) for 'dramatic' demographic shifts leading to proto-urban nucleations on already occupied plateaux in South Etruria (pp. 9, 59), are not discussed. According to Stoddart one cannot anthropologically speak of Etruscan identity before ca. 700 BC (p. 13). This is questionable as an Etruscan inscription (carved before firing) on a Villanovan amphora from Bologna (625-575 BC; *StEtr* 49, 1981, 85*; G. Meiser (ed.), *Etruskische Texte. Editio minor* (henceforth: *ET*), Hamburg 2014, Fe 2.1) shows that Villanovans spoke Etruscan. In addition, there was no material break around 700 BC, maybe around 1150 BC with the appearance of biconical ash urns, probably under the influence of the Central European urn fields. In the references G. Bartoloni's *La cultura villanoviana* (Rome 1992) is missing. S. Neil's paper called 'Materializing the Etruscans: the expression and negotiation of identity during the orientaling, archaic, and classical periods'

gives an overview of *longue durée* material transformations. Following R. Lambrechts she suggests that the *tular rasnal* (> *rašnal*) cippus from Cortona (ET Co 8.1-2) was a boundary stone between Etruria and Umbria attesting to 'the self-conceptualization of the Etruscans' (p. 24). However, the stone was found not far from the city but far from the Tiber. In addition, *rasna* not only means Etruscan but also public (see H. Rix, *Etr. mechl rasnal* = lat. *res publica*, in *Studi in onore di G Maetke* II, Rome 1984, 455-468). L. Ceccarelli summarizes recent discussions on Romanization, that is, the impact of the growing Roman presence in Southern Etruria after 396 BC. After the conquest of Etruria (274/273 BC) Rome's influence on Etruscan society, apart from the founding of *coloniae* and transforming of Etruscan roads into *viae* for military control, did not dominate before ca. 80 BC because Etruscan urban elites ruled in the name of Rome. Following E. Simon, Ceccarelli incorrectly dates the terracotta temple pediment from Talamone about 50 BC instead of 175-150 BC (p. 34; cf. p. 360, fig. 24.3).

In Part II (Geography, urbanization, and space) Stoddart sheds light on the physical geography and environment of Etruscan Italy, here limited to *Etruria propria*. He also presents a survey of interdisciplinary research on urban centers and rural landscapes, limited to the same area too. Without neglecting ancient authors, G. Camporeale describes how the Mediterranean sea trade influenced Etruscan culture. C. Riva's paper 'Urbanization and foundation rites: the material culture of rituals at the heart and the margins of Etruscan early cities' holds that the rites refer to Roman *coloniae* rather than to Etruscan cities. See, however, for the opposite view, among others, L.M. Michetti, *Riti e miti di fondazione nell'Italia antica. Riflessioni su alcuni contesti di area etrusca*, *ScAnt* 19.2-3, 2013, 333-357). A.S. Tuck summarizes the results of six decades of excavations in Poggio Civitate (as for the 2015 excavations see now Tuck et al., *EtrSt* 19, 2016, 87-148). The reasons for destructions of the monumental rural community buildings which produced local artefacts, about 600 and 550 BC, are still unknown. C. Bizzarri sketches the main results of current international excavations in Southern and Inner Etruria, underlining the importance of science-based research. In the next chapter, Bizzarri and D. Soren focus on the innovative aspects of Etruscan domestic architecture (including that in non-Etruscan Satricum and Fidene), hydraulic engineering, water management technologies and their legacy to Rome. They conclude that a book on Etruscan technology and innovation is a desideratum. S. Steingraber deals with many aspects of (rock-cut) tombs and necropoleis. An important contribution to our ever-growing knowledge of Etruscan religion is afforded by P. Gregory Warden who pays attention to sacred space in Etruria and the role of the elite. He concludes that 'ritual defined space and space informed ritual' (p. 174).

In Part III (Evidence in context) M.J. Becker states that recent DNA-analyses do not inform us about Etruscan origins. He also discusses the absence of children and the unequal sex ratio in Tarquinian tombs, quite plausibly concluding that men were inhumed and women cremated after which their remaining ashes were placed in perishable containers hung up on

wall nails. R.E. Wallace informs us about the Etruscan language, alphabet, and linguistic affiliation. Following J. Penny he argues that Lemnian, Raetic and Etruscan are three languages, descending from a common Proto-Tyrrhenian language. He holds that the affiliation does not give insight in the question of origins (p. 221). His spelling of sibilants (pp. 205-206, 222 n. 3) is rather new. Other scholars use three other, different sibilant spelling systems. Then follow important chapters of P. Perkins on bucchero in context, of M. Gleba on science-based investigations of Etruscan textiles, and of H. Nagy on votives in religious context (with errors in translations of inscriptions, see below). L.C. Pieraccini following M. Pallottino and others, holds that representations of e.g. processions of magistrates in Etruscan wall paintings (until ca 200 BC) influenced Roman art, for example the long friezes of the Ara Pacis. The chronological gap, however, makes this unlikely. A.Q. Castor focuses on jewelry and identity, e.g. on *bullae*, without mentioning A. Coen's *Corona etrusca* (Viterbo 1999). The authors of the next chapters show the incorrectness of ancient written stories about Etruscan wealth and decadence (H. Becker), Tanaquil or the construction of an Etruscan matron (G.E. Meyers), and the *obesus etruscus* (J. MacIntosh Turfa). In Part IV (Art, society, and culture) A.C. Gunter deals with the Etruscans, Greek art, and the Near East. She holds that social and political changes in Etruria influenced the selection of foreign objects and motifs. J. Penny Small highlights the innovative aspects of Etruscan art. She assumes that the Talamone pediment, mentioned before, inspired the makers of Etruscan urns; the latter, however, are older than the pediment; see now F. de Angelis, *Miti greci in tombe etrusche. Le urne cinerarie di Chiusi* (Rome 2015), 65-82. In the next chapter De Angelis reflects on Greek ponderation (the *contrapposto*) in Etruscan art, e.g. in mirror engravings. I. Krauskopf's excellent essay is about myth in Etruria. A.A. Carpino tries to debunk the myth that violent scenes were chosen for their bloody character. She may be right but since paintings on most sarcophagi and urns have disappeared, we cannot be sure (see also I. Krauskopf, p. 401).

In Part V (The Etruscan legacy and contemporary issues) I.D. Rowland tells an amusing story about Annus of Viterbo (who was in fact the Dominican friar G. Nanni) who published his forged Etruscan investigations in 1498. R.D. de Puma pays attention to (partial) forgeries of Etruscan and Praenestine artefacts (which, however, are not Etruscan), and G. Lobay deals with a very current problem, looting and the antiquities trade. It appears that international conventions since 1970 were not always successful ('the collectors are the real looters') while social awareness of illegal transactions is growing. The appendix (by De Puma) contains an overview of museums in the USA and Canada that possess Etruscan artefacts. The volume concludes with a short index.

The *Companion* discusses several aspects of Etruscan culture. Though unintended, it may be used as a supplement to J. MacIntosh Turfa (ed.), *The Etruscan world* (London/New York 2013) since countless notes refer to the latter book. The volume includes some typograph-

ical and other errors that should be corrected before a paperback edition is issued (p. xxvi: *prolapse* > *prolapsa*; p. 33: *templum sub terrae* > *terra*; p. 34: *pronaos* > *pars antica*; p. 79: *Siquetas* > *Silgetas* (ET La 2.3); p. 80: *tesserae hospitalis* > *tessera*; p. 181: Herodotus (ca. 400 BC (sic!)); Dionysius of Halicarnassus (ca. 100 BC (sic!)) > Halicarnassus; p. 210: Lethums > Lethams; p. 218: *fanu*: declared (?) > declaring (?); p. 246: *volubinius* > *voluminibus*; p. 265: 'Titne Alpa dedicated. Of the divinities, to Thufiltha' > 'Tite Alpnas gave (me) to the gods (aiser) of Thufiltha' (ET OA 3.5); p. 266: Vel Quinto > Quintius; Crere L. Tolonia d: 'dedicated to Ceres' > 'to Ceres L. Tolonios gave (me)'; p. 271: *fuflunusura* > *fuflunusra* (ET Cr 3.42); p. 412: *divinità atto?*). Despite these remarks, the Companion is carefully edited. All contributions are written in or well-translated into English. Not all chapters, however, are sufficiently illustrated or contain figures are too well-known rather than less familiar images. The use of capital letters in French and Italian referenced titles (pp. 25-27; 100-104) is incorrect. The editors have made cross-references between chapters, which is wise since the contributors evidently did not read each others' papers in view of contradictions between them: p. 185: *lautni*: (extended) family, and p. 220: freedman). The *Companion*, the contents of which can be purchased separately or as an entire volume online, is useful for those who cannot read Italian, French or German publications. As several chapters are specialised, readers might first read S. Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization* (Malibu 2000) and M. Torelli (ed.), *The Etruscans* (New York 2001). In view of the *Companion's* price, graduate students of Etruscology, archaeology, history, and classics will, no doubt, appreciate a more affordable pocket edition in future.

L. Bouke van der Meer

MARTA SCARRONE, *La pittura vascolare etrusca del V secolo*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2015. 340 pp., 20 figs, 91 pls; 30 cm (Archaeologica 174) – ISBN 978-88-7689-288-2.

This voluminous book of Marta Scarrone is, according to the title, dedicated to Etruscan vase painting from the 5th century BC, the so-called *Interim* period in Etruscan art. Fortunately, she also considers the first part of the fourth century, even paying some attention to the Sokra and Phantasma Groups after ca 350 BC (p. 284). The book, basically her doctoral dissertation (Bonn 2011), is an important addition to Sir John Beazley's *Etruscan Vase Painting* (1947) and Marina Martelli's *La ceramica degli Etruschi* (1987). She did autopsy in 65 museums.

Her main aims are the classification and dating of groups, vase painters and their products on the one hand, and the topographical localization of workshops on the other hand. Her method is not only based on Beazley's stylistic *modus operandi* but also on the study of contexts (often graves, rarely sanctuaries and settlements). Apart from class and circle, she uses Beazley's terms 'painter' (*maestro*), 'group', 'school' ('followers'), and 'workshop'. She evaluates in a critical way dating, attributions and production centers as

proposed in many articles that appeared in the last decades, especially in those of B. Adembri, L. Ambrosini, S. Bruni, F. Gaultier, F. Gilotta, M. Harari (Scarrone's *maestro*), M. Martelli, G. Paolucci, G. Pianu, and L. Puritani. She identifies and gives new names to some groups and painters (pp. 23-25, 218). She proves that the painters of the Praxias group originated from or were influenced by workshops of late Etruscan, black-figure vases, pointing out the remarkable fact that no red-figure vases were made before ca 450 BC. Instead, after ca 500 BC, the painters added a red(dish) slip (*vernice*) to figures in silhouette (sometimes with a *Vorzeichnung*), after which they showed anatomical and other details by means of incised lines. They intended to imitate the Attic red-figure technique. This 'overpainted red-figure' technique had a very long life in Etruscan art, even after the introduction of the real red-figure technique.

Scarrone's book is well organized. Part One starts with the study of Etruscan, late black-figure vases at the end of the 6th and beginning of the 5th century BC, including the Late group of Silhouettes from Vulci and Chiusi (300 items), and the Praxias Group (160 items) from Vulci and Vagnonville Group (44 items) from Chiusi, both produced in the first half of the 5th century BC. Part Two deals with second half of the 5th century BC, in particular the Painter of Bologna 824. Part Three focuses on the influence of the latter painter between ca 410-350 BC, with attention to the phenomenon of standardization. Readers who want to get a quick insight in the sequence of and relations between the many Groups and Painters should consult the schemes on pp. 4, 191, 226, 227 and 284. Usually the painters of each group, vase forms, additional decoration, style, quality, inscriptions, iconography, dating, function and distribution of the pots (see the table on p. 38) are discussed. The vases of each group or painter are catalogued according to Beazley's system. In discussing their function, Scarrone not only looks to the meaning of images but also to the contexts of the vases (p. 35). As for style, she convincingly proves the long lasting influence of Attic vase painting, and of Lucanian red-figure after ca 410/400 BC (p. 225), and argues that the Painter of Perugia was an immigrant, who first worked as the Lucanian Painter of Arnò (pp. 189, 206-207). Apart from imported vases, she believes that the painters copied from cartoons and *Modellbücher* (pp. 105, 115, 243), especially when the import of Attic vases stagnated. It is, however, doubtful whether pattern books existed in the 5th and 4th centuries BC; it seems to me that painted textile and illustrated linen books are a more likely source.

The painters often created images in an eclectic way (pp. 175, 189, 210, 247) 'playing' with motifs. As for inscriptions, Scarrone interprets *Arnthe Praxias* as Arnthe, an Etruscan, originally called Arnth, who presents himself as a Greek Arnth-e (-e < from Greek -os), as a friend of a Greek man, Praxias (p. 88). Further she holds that *Metru* (< Greek Metron) worked as an Etruscan in Athens (pp. 177-178). In terms of the iconography, she makes interesting references to armed dances (p. 34) and the influence of Greek *epos* (p. 18) and drama (pp. 200, 209, 234); in my view, the latter influence is due to

visual rather than oral traditions. Scarrone considers male figures wrapped in their mantles who look like Greek *eromenoi* as deceased men (pp. 95-97). In that case there need not be any direct connection with the Greek images of the *eromenoi*.

The Epilogue places the artistic developments of the period in a historical context, i.e. the impact of the Peloponnesian War and plague in Athens, the Syracusan raids on the Tyrrhenian coast, the migration of south Italic painters to Etruria, and other historical events.

A few criticisms. The use of Greek words in Etruscan contexts, such as *polis*, *ethnos*, and *genos* (39, 121) is occasionally irritating. Though the countless photos, mostly of details, are of good quality, readers who want to see complete vases, e.g. pieces like the Rodin Cup, have to consult earlier publications, Y. Olivier-Trottenberg's *CVA München 17*, and the Beazley Archive online. The bibliography, however, is almost impeccable (on p. 308 *StEtr* LIV has to be read as LXXIV) and up to date.

Scarrone's careful study is a tremendous achievement; no chemical analysis has been able to help to identify production centers, since Tuscan clay is basically the same everywhere. Let us hope that the author will write a synthetic book on Etruscan vase painting after ca.350 BC.

L. Bouke van der Meer

LARISSA BONFANTE/HELEN NAGY (eds), *The Collection of Antiquities of the American Academy in Rome*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2015. 388 pp., ill. in the text; 28.5 cm (Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Suppl. Vol. XI). – ISBN 978-0-472-1198-9.

Part One, the most readable part of this book, is dedicated to the history and context of the archaeological study collection of the American Academy in Rome (AAR). R.D. de Puma tells how Americans, among whom J.J. Jarves, A.L. Frothingham Jr, P. Apperson Hearst, collected antiquities in Italy between ca 1865 and 1920. L. Bonfante and H. Nagy sketch how the collection was formed and grew after 1911. K.A. Geffcken presents a vivid, often amusing picture of donors, collectors and others, among whom directors of the AAR. She offers fascinating biographies of R. Norton, J. Loeb, V. Allison Armour, Ch. Densmore Curtis, A. Morris Harmon, A.W. van Buren, E. Douglas Van Buren, G.N. Olcott, Th. Ashby, and E.B. Van Deman. Part Two is a *catalogue raisonné* of highlights, a charming selection from ca 9000 artefacts most of which are accessible online. Often the provenances are unknown so that many artefacts cannot easily be dated. The comments written by American experts are short but to the point. Ch.L. Babcock deals with some Latin inscriptions, L. Bonfante with an Etruscan funerary relief of *pietra fetida* from Chiusi (showing a banquet, *prothesis* and warrior dance) and a pertaining fragment in the DAI dated to ca 500 BC that probably belonged to an architectural monument, J. Collins-Clinton with Greek and Roman sculpture and D.H. Wright with the lid fragment of a Tetrarchic sarcophagus. A.M. Moore casts light upon

Etruscan and Roman architectural terracottas, S. Stone on Campana reliefs, A. Laidlaw on molded and painted plaster fragments, including remarks on methodology, D.H. Wright on a beautiful decorated marble pier (showing the Rape of Europa, Tellus, Oceanus and the Birth of Venus) dated to ca AD 250. E. Hill Richardson comments on Umbrian geometric and other bronze figures, R. Miller Ammerman on votive terracottas from Greece, Magna Graecia, and other regions, H. Nagy on Etrusco-Italic votive terracottas from votive deposits from Nemi (Diana temple), Ponte di Nona, and Tivoli, J. MacIntosh Turfa on Etruscan votive terracottas, I.E.M. Edlund-Berry on Italic votive terracottas in the form of animals. H. Nagy presents the Etruscan cinerary urns of terracotta (as for the Chiusine *ollae* see now L. Ambrosini, *L'olla cineraria fittile a campana di produzione chiusina: modelli dal Mediterraneo orientale e valore simbolico*, *StEtr* 77, 2014, (2015), pp. 95-106) and R.D. de Puma three Etruscan bronze mirrors, one of which has a modern engraving. Comments on Italic and Etruscan pottery are made by J.M. Devison, S. Stone, the late I. Edlund-Berry and R.D. De Puma, on Greek and Italian (Italic) pottery by S. Stone, Roman and Latian pottery by Edlund-Berry, A. Martin (Roman amphorae and terra sigillata), and E.C. De Sena. The latter and P. Chini cast light on oil lamps. K.A. Geffcken deals with hoards (from Egypt) and coins, and N. W. Goldman with pieces of Etruscan and Roman jewelry. All chapters are provided with a bibliography. Of course, it is impossible to comment upon the many well written contributions. A surprise is the fragment of an Attic red-figure krater that may have been inspired by Sophokles' tragedy *Tereus* (p. 272, fig. 8.2.42) of which only fragments remain. The book ends with the *curricula vitarum* of the contributors, a concordance of inventory numbers, and one index of personal (not-mythological) names, and one of places, museums and collections. The black-and-white photographs in the text are small but of reasonable quality. The book is carefully edited, apart from errors like *gentilicio* instead of (*nomen*) *gentilicium* (p. 220).

L. Bouke van der Meer

FRANCESCO DE ANGELIS, *Miti greci in tombe etrusche. Le urne cinerarie di Chiusi* (Monumenti Antichi, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Serie monografica VIII). Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore 2015. 455 pp., 53 figs in the text, 182 pls; 33 cm. – ISBN 978-88-7689-290-5.

In the Preface to this impressive, readable book, De Angelis presents the two main goals of his research. 1. To reconstruct 'the artistic, cultural and social dynamics' of Chiusi (and its *ager*) between 295 (when it came under the Roman sphere of influence) and ca 175 BC, by a study of the imagery of local Etruscan urns, most of them of alabaster (317 of 344 items) and 18 sarcophagi (9 of alabaster). 2. To explain 'the visual and narrative function' of the mythological and non-mythological images, searching for their deeper meaning(s).

The Introduction deals with the question of whether the representations inform us about local cultural iden-

tity. It appears that some themes are depicted not only on Chiusine urns, but also on earlier or contemporaneous artefacts, such as mirrors and mirror boxes made elsewhere, in and outside Etruria.

Chapter I focuses on the urns and the iconographic tradition of myths. De Angelis is skeptical about the usefulness of the terms *prototype* (first urn with a certain theme) and *archetype* (e.g. a [lost] Greek painting) since reconstructions of them would hardly be possible. By way of example he compares the famous terracotta tympanum from the back of the Talamone temple (175-150 BC) with Chiusine urns, concluding that its representation of 'The Seven against Thebes' (showing Adrastus, Oidipous kneeling between his dying sons, Amphiaraios, and Kapaneus on a ladder above Oidipous) was not influenced by the (*Einzelvorlage*; models of) slightly earlier urns from Chiusi. In both places artisans created their own assemblages using schemes from Greek traditions. According to De Angelis, the tympanum warns against incorrect behaviour in war, such as Kapaneus' *hybris*. The scenes on the urns, on the other hand, especially the fratricide, warn against the dangers of succession within a family. The author then focuses not only on presumed banalisations, contaminations, and errors, but also on innovations - the *etruschicità* of Greek myths caused by the creation of variants.

Chapter II presents a partly new chronology of the Chiusine urns. Though placement and sequence of urns are certain only in extremely few tombs (p. 129 n. 281 and 283), De Angelis distinguishes twenty more or less successive groups of urn chests and lids, with subdivisions (*nuclei*) showing similar typological and stylistic characteristics. His chronological main frame is based on G. Colonna's study of the sarcophagi and A. Maggiani's paleographic and genealogic research (cf. M. Scalfani, *StEtr* 77, 2014 [2015], p. 178). Also following Maggiani, he dates male lid figures wearing a *tunica* instead of showing a bare chest between ca 190 and 160 BC. He distinguishes three main phases in the urn production: 1) 250-225 (gradual transition from inhumation to cremation; 2 groups), 2) 225-200 (*floruit*, high quality; 9 groups) and 3) 200-175 BC (lower quality, simplification, and decrease of mythical themes; 6 groups), with overlaps like 230-220, 210-190, etc., as appears from the *schede* (catalogue).

The chronological limits of the whole production are the same as those proposed by N.L.C. Stevens (*BABESCH* 85, 2010, 77-100). The dates of 147 individual urns with mythical scenes (including Cacū), proposed by both scholars, are almost identical or differ by only ca. 20 years (see below). De Angelis dates the earliest alabaster urns (e.g. *Holz*-, and *kline*- types, urns with animals or without decoration; lids of the *oboesus* type) between 325/300 and 250, and the most recent ones (e.g. showing a Gorgoneion only) between 175 and 100 BC. He then sketches Chiusi's history in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, based on massive epigraphic evidence but few ancient written sources. The decline in production is explained (agreeing with former scholars) by the rise of a large middle class after the end of the Second Punic War (204 BC), mostly farmers in small settlements of the *Ager Clusinus*, who pre-

ferred cheaper travertine and stamped terracotta urns (mass products) to the alabaster ones.

Chapter III analyzes 72 non-mythical battle scenes, including Celtomachies, on sarcophagi and urns. They do not emphasize the role of heroic protagonists as in Greek representations, but rather have a funerary, eschatological function. The author concludes that the Celtomachies do not refer to a specific historical battle, and that the interest in war scenes was not due to Romanization or direct influence from Rome (p. 181).

Chapter IV first deals with the conflict between brothers and 'fraternal' friendship, themes which are already visible in the paintings of the Tomba François (340-310 BC) in Vulci (Eteokles and Polyneikes, Achilles and his dead friend Patroklos, the Vibenna brothers). Then the urn scenes showing Achilles and Aias symmetrically kneeling on an altar after having murdered and decapitated Troilos are compared with those of Orestes and Pylades who kneel on an altar in the same way after having murdered Klytaimnestra and Aigisthos. In both cases there are no Greek literary and visual precedents. These innovative images may have been created because of Etruscan interest in *compagnonnage* (good fellowship).

In Ch. V the central theme is 'the youth at risk': Orestes and Pylades in the country of the Taurians, Alexandros threatened by his sister Kassandra, Cacū threatened by the Vibenna brothers (an Etruscan myth), Troilos killed by Achilles (and Aias), and Hippolytos' death.

Ch. VI is about family, power and other themes: the murder of Klytaimnestra and Aigisthos, murders on an altar, violent succession in power (Oinomaos and Pelops), the Calydonian Hunt, and the Hero with the Plough (Echethlos?).

In the *Conclusions*, De Angelis summarizes the artisans' (or their patrons') reasons for their choice of themes: interest in war (some mythical scenes like Hippolytos' Death are converted in military ones), bonds of (fraternal) friendship, family relationships (risks of succession), youth (at risk), 'the sacred' (i.e. altars as places of asylum but also of desecration), the collectivity of boar hunting, and defending the property of one's own terrain. In general, themes of tension (threat, disorder) were popular, therefore suited to a funerary context. The author admits that many scenes are ambiguous or paradoxical, showing figures like Aias and Orestes as murderers, who were nevertheless saved by taking refuge at an altar.

The *schede*, listing material, provenience, location, measurements (but no colours), inscription, proposed dating, group attribution (sometimes), and bibliography are alphabetically organized, according to themes. These are abbreviated, and include non-mythological themes like lid figures (see below), from **Ach**(ille e **Aiace** rifugiati all'altare) to **Vg** (*Viaggio nell'Aldilà*), without references to the main text. The plates follow the same sequence. The abbreviations are also used in the main text. The four colour-plates, as well as the black-and-white plates, show many good photos. The general bibliography is up to date, and the analytical index is good but not complete (e.g., find spots like Chianciano are missing). There are few typos. The captions of pl. 141 incorrectly mention those of pl. 142.

In general, the author respectfully criticizes former scholarship. However, some criticism, limited to the main points, is needed. De Angelis' dating of individual alabaster urns can only be verified by future excavations of intact tombs, with many, preferably inscribed, alabaster urn chests complete with pertaining lids and grave goods (see now *Etruscan News* 2016, p. 32). In the *schede*, many urn chests are mentioned without provenience, without or with a non pertinent lid, whilst the 89 lid figures (*scheda*: **COP(erchi)**) missing their pertinent chests (pls 72-96) make it difficult to follow the precise evolution of chests with pertaining lid figures. One would expect, as Stevens does, that high quality urn reliefs of a mythological series in phase 1 were prototypes for copies of less high quality in phase 2 and 3, as happened later in Volterranean workshops in the 2nd century BC. In this context it is interesting to note that urns of top quality attributed to phase 1 both by Stevens and De Angelis were found far outside Chiusi, in Sarteano and Città della Pieve: *schede* (**Ale(ssandro)** 1, **Batt(aglia)** 60, **Cac(u)** 1, **Ech(etlo)** 1, **Eno(mao)** 1, **Et(eocle)** III 1, and **Tau** (*Iphigenia in Tauris*) 1. This fact raises the question whether there were workshops there and in Chianciano, Castiglione del Lago, Montepulciano and Cetona, or whether traveling artisans from Chiusi worked there. Nowhere is it mentioned where the alabaster, sometimes called *marmo alabastrino* (different from Volterranean alabaster), was mined. One sarcophagus thought to be of Volterranean alabaster (*scheda*: **Kli** 1), though, judging by the distance, this would be almost impossible.

As for the iconography, we cannot know for certain what artisans and consumers thought about the meaning of a particular scene and its possible visual precedent or model, right at the start, in case of a special commission, and later on, during the course of two or three generations. Most likely, scenes had more than one meaning. It is striking that the Underworld deity Vanth, sometimes substituting a Greek Fury (Erinye), is already present in De Angelis' first phase urn reliefs (*scheda*: **Ass** 1; **Batt** 9, 10; **ET** III 1,2; **Tau** 1) which proves that some myths were primarily chosen for their funerary character, like Trojan and Theban scenes on Tarquinian stone sarcophagi dating from ca 340-300 BC (see p. 90, fig. 10). In addition, many short side reliefs of urn chests (neglected in the analysis and the *scheda*) also refer to the Underworld. De Angelis does not explain his concept of eschatology. Since traces of painting rarely survived, we cannot rule out that religious or cultic interest in bloodshed and sacrifice (see for example *scheda*: **Tro(ilo)** II 6 and **Var** [*soggetti vari*], 8 [Sacrifice of Iphigeneia, see pl. 171 b, or reviewer, *Liber linteus zagrabiensis* [Louvain-Dudley, MA 2007], p. 41 fig. 11a-b) played a role in choosing murder scenes (cf. Arnobius, *Adversus nationes* 2.62).

Since the book is expensive because of its monumental size and amount of photos, a cheap English pocket edition would be very welcome for all those who are interested in Etruscan (funerary) culture and iconography but do not understand Italian. In addition, monographs on the chronology and iconography of urns from Volterra (the first fascicles of the *Corpus delle urne volterrane* (CUV) are without dates), and on

those from Perugia (lacking a modern corpus) would also be welcome.

L. Bouke van der Meer

ELAINE K. GAZDA/JOHN R. CLARKE (eds), *Leisure and Luxury in the Age of Nero. The villas of Oplontis near Pompeii*, Ann Arbor (Mi): Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, 2016. pp. 288, figs 233 in text + 281 in catalogue; 28 cm. – ISBN 978-0-9906623-4-1.

The book under discussion is a museum catalogue for the travelling exhibition under the same title, which in 2016 was on display at the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology at Ann Arbor, Michigan, and the Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana and in 2017 at Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts.

The volume documents the lifestyle of Roman elite people in their huge villas along the Bay of Naples until the eruption of Mt Vesuvius. Starting point are the excavations from 1964 to 1991 by Italian archaeologists and the ongoing Oplontis Project, in which the Superintendency of Pompeii and the University of Texas at Austin have worked together since 2006.

The book starts with four short introductions, amongst others by the Superintendant of Pompeii and surroundings, Massimo Osanna, who rightly points at the importance of the exhibition, as it is the first time that these finds are presented in a more or less monographic way.

Two introductory chapters present the 'Concepts and Contents of the Exhibition' (chapter 1, pp. 22-29), and 'Villas on the Bay of Naples: The Ancient Setting of Oplontis' (chapter 2, pp. 30-45), after which the volume is divided into four parts. The villas are rightly identified as a luxurious vacation home for cultivated leisure (Villa A), and a center of business (Oplontis B), functioning within the Roman concepts of *otium* and *negotium* respectively. A rich villa like Villa A was a typical example of the Roman elite competition culture. Apart from luxury quarters for the owners and their guests, also the service quarters have been preserved relatively well here, giving insight into the social structure within the villa. In her chapter 2, Elaine Gazda discusses the phenomenon of villas as an arena for Roman elite social and political competition, therefore indicated as 'powerhouses' by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill. After a characterization of Villa A, she compares it to other villas in the neighbourhood, that are preserved as well as this one. Of these, the so-called Villa of Arianna and the villa of San Marco at Stabiae and the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum are comparable, while the Villa of the Mysteries and the one from Boscoreale are less well suited for comparison.

Part I is entitled 'Destruction, Discovery, Reconstruction', and goes into geology and the eruption as well as in the Oplontis villa Project, entering into archival research, excavations and digital imaging of the villas. Very helpful for understanding the original context of Villa A are the sections showing its position and the stratigraphy of its underground (pp. 52-53), as well as the damage and repairs caused by the earthquake and subsequent tsunami of 62 CE. Then an overview

of archival research is given, to show its potentiation, especially the study of photographs made during the early excavations. A meticulous documentation of all the remains of Villa A led to a navigable 3D model of the villa, linked to the project database.

Chapter 5, by Ivo van der Graaff, is on the ten years of excavations at Oplontis (pp. 66-71) revealing the building history of the two villas. Digital imaging is the topic of chapter 6. Spectacular are the 3D models of the wall paintings of atrium 5 with reconstructed Ionic upper order (p. 75, figs 6.1-2) and of the recontextualization of sculptures.

Part II has Villa A as its main focus (pp. 77-157). Through the analysis of architectural space and views, the monumental painted decoration, the gardens, real and painted and adorned with sculptures, the reader gets an idea of the variety presented to the inhabitants and their visitors, and the changes that took place during the history of the villa. It meant a continuous play, caused by the designers, who 'systematically sought to dissolve boundaries and fool the senses.' (Bettina Bergmann, p. 107). Bergmann characterizes them as 'carefully orchestrated perspectives' and as 'a spectacle of cultivated nature' (p. 107). Three chapters are dedicated to the use of marble, of which the first, by Lynley McAlpine, deviates from the rest of the book, entering too much into the literary anti-luxury topos, before going into the use of marble in Villa A. Reality at Oplontis was much different, as is shown by the meticulous reconstruction of the marble *opus sectile* floor and lower walls of *diaeta* 78. Together with the wooden revetment of its upper walls this gives a very good insight into the extreme richness of the villa decoration (Simon Barker, chapter 11). In chapter 12 the costs of the marble decoration of the Villa and the enormous manpower involved in the making of it are estimated (J. Clayton Fant and Simon Barker). The reconstruction of the sculptural decoration of the villa, meant as a status display of the owners, is presented in chapter 13 (Elaine Gazda and Matthew Naglak). In the last chapter of this part Sandra Joshel and Lauren Hackworth Petersen analyse the presence and movement of slaves at Villa A, so important for the maintenance of the villa itself as for servicing the family and their guests.

Part III enters into Commerce and Wealth and focusses on Oplontis B. As this commercial center was involved in wine making, the complex is described against the background of this industry in the Vesuvian area by Michael Thomas (chapter 15). It is identified as a distribution center (bottling and shipping), because of the many amphorae found for the transportation of wine. An amazing find were the 54 bodies of people who died during the eruption. Probably awaiting transport over sea, they had valuables like jewelry and money with them (Courtney Ward, chapter 17). Different qualities of the jewelry could point at different social statuses of their owners.

Part IV (pp. 179-254) is the actual catalogue of the exhibition, describing more than 200, objects on display in a very detailed and thorough way. The catalogue is thematic, starting with architectural components, followed by objects of daily life, garden sculptures, painting and stucco fragments and marble floors. Apart from

these objects, reconstruction drawings of integrated wall painting fragments are given (pp. 199, 201 and 216). New are a model and digital reconstruction of Villa A (pp. 230-231) that closes the first section. The second section of the catalogue is on 'Commerce and wealth at Oplontis B' (pp. 232-254), including the jewelry as well as the coins found in a wooden box and a purse carried by one of the individuals.

A small critical remark concerns the choice to put the name of Nero in the subtitle of the catalogue, because it is obvious that many of the finds exhibited are not Neronian but Flavian era, and have been found in a Flavian context. As Nero is one of the Roman emperors mostly related to decadence, his name was probably used to emphasize the very rich environment of Oplontis Villa A, but does not suit to Oplontis B. Nevertheless, the editors and their collaborators have succeeded very well in their wish 'to provide a sense of the complexity and richness of villa culture'.

Stephan Mols

MAUD MULLIEZ, *Le luxe de l'imitation. Les trompe-l'oeil de la fin de la République romaine, mémoire des artisans de la couleur*. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard, 2014. 236 pp., 103 figs; 28 cm (Collection du Centre Jean Bérard, 44; Archéologie de l'artisanat antique, 8). - ISBN 978-2-918887-68-3 / ISSN 1590-3869.

This study focuses on Roman mural paintings from the 1st century BC which display objects and architectural elements and suggest to have been executed in precious materials. The showing of luxury by these means and by the fictive expansion of the natural space by means of illusionistically painted architectural elements formed an important constituent of interior decorations. First of all, Mulliez resumes theories about the origins and sources of these paintings, most of which we know from Pompeii and its environments, viz. theater stage buildings or decorations, and Hellenistic royal palaces. Both realms might have been relevant, but there seems not to have existed one specific type of building to serve as the principal example. The author also takes into account temple architecture which became more lavish and spatial in the later Republic; among the features mentioned by Vitruvius as appropriate devices in mural decoration of the elite house one recognizes temple elements. Repeatedly Mulliez suggests that the previous masonry style lacked such *trompe l'oeil* motifs (pp. 9, 15) but we know half pilasters and friezes which also give an idea of space, e.g. as early as the third-century house in Pella, but still in the late 2nd-century House of the Faun in Pompeii. She connects various elements with the sacral sphere of Greek sanctuaries whose treasures were plundered by Roman generals, brought into the public realm and from there into the private space (e.g. Verres!). Suchlike objects and architectural elements might have inspired the makers of Republican paintings. The 'invention of luxury' is discussed in Chapter 2. Here, Mulliez starts her analyses of these Republican murals based on some 135 complexes (see her appendix 2: Corpus). Color is one of the first topics addressed:

Mulliez looks for possible meanings, specific color schemes in specific rooms, and discusses monochrome versus polychrome. Many of these questions cannot be answered satisfactorily, as the author admits, but her work is relevant and gives fodder for further thinking, especially when we take into account Vitruvius' altogether brief and puzzling chapters on painting. Mulliez does not fall into the trap of symbolism or allegory, but sticks to the materiality itself. Composing elements like cornices, already studied before (she does not mention Hesberg's study on *Konsolengeisa des Hellenismus und der frühen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz 1981, which might have given some more material, and Tybout's 1989 [book cited] analysis of constructing elements) are briefly discussed, but the outcome is not very great, apart from observing that many singular elements indeed stem from real architectural forms but were transformed into purely decorative motifs. Mulliez clearly analyses the means by which space was created in the fancy architectures, especially shading and highlighting relief, and, in a way, unravels methods used by the painters to create these fantastic constructions in two dimensions. She rightly suggests that these analyses might help to distinguish workshops or specific painters' styles, but does not yet work out this topic.

Chapter 3 is on mock marble veneer as a token of luxury. 'Marble' does not include the geological types only, but all kinds of stone seen as marble in antiquity (p. 79), so that alabaster, porphyry, and other hard stones with fancy surfaces are included in this discussion as well. Real (and hence imitations of) marbles had a decorative value, but their political and possibly magical meaning as expressions of the power of Rome cannot be underestimated. The provenance of these materials (see table 3 and the map on p. 215) was essential to underline the materials as property of the Roman conquerors of the world. Strikingly, the names given to these stones often refer to their provenance and, hence, to their being property of the Romans. Mulliez patiently explores the sources of the real and mock marbles and gives insight into the production and transportation of the real specimens to Rome. The real species are put next to the painted imitations or evocations, which is very informative. In Chapter 4 other materials that conveyed a touch of luxury, such as metal appliques, tortoise shell, ivory, and (semi-)precious stones are briefly discussed. Here she also takes into account objects exposed within the wall systems (e.g. glass bowls), which do not strictly belong to the category of fake material making the wall decoration system. As a consequence, there are some irrelevant examples, while other objects (e.g. candelabra, *thymiateria*) lack; the balance between discussed and not discussed objects is distorted. Some of the *columnae caelatae* seem to be adorned with marble relief rather than spirals of different material (fig. 66).

In chapter 5 technical matters like preparatory drawings, the use of ducting lines, pencil uses, and painters' hands are discussed. She takes up the matter of workshops and briefly but clearly discusses the different renderings of marblings in various rooms, e.g. the famous room with the 'mystic' megalography in the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii (p. 161, fig. 96). This

method might be pursued further; Mulliez gives a new method to discern hands and to better understand the division of work. A very brief conclusion closes the main part of the book; here the author might have done more justice to herself! Appendices include quotations of ancient sources, the afore-mentioned corpus, methodological remarks (which, in my opinion, should form part of the main text), and tables. The work is lavishly illustrated with important often hitherto not published images and is meticulously edited.

Eric M. Moormann

DANIELA CANDILIO/MATILDE DE ANGELIS D'OSSAT (eds), *La collezione di antichità Pallavicini Rospigliosi*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2014. Pp. 223, 11 figs, 90 pls; 33.5 cm (Monumenti Antichi Serie Generale LXXI; Serie Miscellanea XVII). ISSN 9391-8084; ISBN 978-88-7689-283-7.

Situated near the presidential (formerly papal and royal) palace on the Quirinal the Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi is a jewel of baroque architecture. Erected by pope Paul Vth nipote Scipione Borghese on top of the remains of the Baths of Constantine in 1610-1612, it was immediately enriched with modern and ancient works of art. After Scipione's move to the grander Villa Borghese, the complex came into the possession of people like the cardinal Mazarin, and got its actual name in the early 18th century. The actual owners are descendants of the first Pallavicini Rospigliosi owner, duchess Maria Camilla, who enlarged the collection of antiquities. The first part of the book (pp. 13-34) describes the history of collecting, intermingled with notes about involved artists and restorers. The most famous element is the garden façade of the casino, similar to that in Villa Medici, embellished with fourteen sarcophagus reliefs and other sculptures. The actual situation, partly visualized with photos of exterior and interior, but not really described, reflects the 18th-century furnishing. Some pieces were sold in 1932, due to the financial crisis, and partly replaced by modern antique-like objects. Little is said about the function of the sculptures within the palace's setting and maybe they were nothing but fashionable ornaments expressing luck and opulence. The exception is the façade's decorative programme, reigned by Apollo and Diana (p. 18). The provenance of most objects is unknown, but some sarcophagus reliefs were brought in from major Roman churches like S. John's and S. Peter's.

The collection of 101 objects is here presented for the first time in a full catalogue (pp. 35-136). As in most collections of antiquities, both public and private ones, many pieces are of mediocre quality, which is not remediated by the restorations executed in the baroque era. Those standing outside show traces of pollution and erosion. In some cases the antiquity of sculptures is not easily detectable, and the editors have chosen well by including all statues, modern and ancient alike. So a Augustus look-alike (no 8) seems not antique; the head's stance is odd and stylistically (if the photo can serve for a fair judgement) a bad match with well-known Augustus portraits. There is a striking number of antique-like portraits and ideal heads, clearly meant

to ornament the premises (e.g. cat. 39-51, 63, 65-66, 68-70). Not all photos are of sufficient quality (e.g. cat. 89, important cuirass statue of Domitian, whose cuirass reliefs are invisible), while a few pieces have an abundant set of plates (e.g. cat. 73, alleged Scipio).

The lion share is the group of 14 sarcophagus reliefs adorning the external façade of the garden house (cat. 25-38). They form a good representation of this class of funerary art between ca 150 and 250, the more when we add the sarcophagi in other parts of the palace. Hunt sarcophagi are very popular: Adonis (two times), Meleagros, Hippolytos, plus the rather famous, biggest lion hunt sarcophagus known with two representations of a mid third-century military officer (cat. 32). Three Endymion sarcophagi are conspicuous as well. Other themes concern Dionysos (four times, or three, if cat. 26 and 27, indeed, belong together, as was suggested in previous scholarship), the Rape of Persephone, and Achilles and Penthesileia. The reason for that choice should be sought in some peculiar interests of Scipione Borghese and not in the function of the palazzo which, after all, was no hunting resort. The interpretation of some reliefs as expressions of funerary symbolism balances between a firm belief in Afterlife à la Cumont and Turcan (e.g. eschatological interpretation of Dionysos on cat. 27; lion's symbolism on cat. 74) and symbols thereof and a connection with personal representation and solace for the living à la Zanker and Ewald. A good discussion on this matter is made in cat. 58, a marine thiasos sarcophagus inside the building. A Muses sarcophagus made for a *femina docta* of the mid third century (cat. 31) would represent the deceased as a 'poetessa', whereas this scene is highly formalized and not very personal. A striking detail on the lion hunt sarcophagus is the presence of a look-alike of the famous Dying Gaul: he might refer to the location of the hunt in a remote part of the empire, where the depicted general also might have won battles against 'Gauls'. With other words, the general simultaneously is the conqueror of savage man and nature. How brilliant the Indian triumph on cat. 34, much like the masterpiece in Baltimore, may look, all animals are oddly rendered. The head of one of two tigers has been restored as that of a lion, and the body of the most visible feline has little of a slim tiger at all.

Free-standing figures are relatively rare and mainly concern mythical figures like Artemis, Aphrodite, and Athena; some are type-giving exemplars (cat. 52: Artemis Rospigliosi; cat. 55: Athena Rospigliosi). Three nude youths are traditionally interpreted as Narkissos (three times, cat. 71, 75, 86) and maybe represent Hyakinthos. The authors tend to connect many of these figures with *opera nobilia* and specific sculptors, e.g. a copy of the Artemis Versailles (cat. 92) with Leochares or Praxiteles, and the head of Aphrodite Capitolina with Kephisodotos. The herm of Bona Dea or Demeter and a priestess (cat. 53) was found in the area of the Basilica of Constantine. Since it is rightly dated to the Flavian era, a provenance from the Templum Pacis might be an option rather than the suggested Horrea Piperataria. Cat. 76, a child Herakles, dated to the Hadrianic age, might be a portrait of a young deceased boy shown with Hercules' qualities. Its face (see pl. LXX)

does not look 'ideal'. The mentioned Domitian is interesting because of its findspot, together with a 'Domitia' (cat. 88), that is a villa in Frascati attributed to C. Passienus Crispus second husband of Agrippina Minor, and later in possession of Domitian. The lady, therefore, would represent Agrippina.

Finally, there are four pieces of wall painting found under the premises and immediately published in 18th-century engravings. I think that all four belong to one Flavian complex (cat. 96 is dated to the second century), probably a house under or near the Baths of Constantine. We know of the Flavian activities on the Quirinal, like the house under the 'Caserma dei Corazzieri' and the Templum Gentis Flaviae near or under the Baths of Diocletian.

In sum, this is a rich catalogue on a collection with major and minor pieces. The texts are well written and display a thorough knowledge of the material, as becomes also evident from the rich bibliography. The fact that not all pieces could be studied in detail, especially those exposed in inaccessible positions, makes some descriptions less accurate.

Eric M. Moormann

THEODOSIA STEFANIDOU-TIVERIOU, *Die lokalen Sarkophage aus Thessaloniki*. Mit epigraphischen Beiträgen von Pantelis Nigdelis und einem Anhang von Y. Maniatis und D. Tambakopoulos. Ruhpoling: Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, 2014. 304 pp, 2 figs, 100 pls, 10 appendices; 28 cm (Sarkophag-Studien 8). ISBN 978-3-447-10240-7.

Several monographs in the well edited sarcophagus series of the German Archaeological Institute are dedicated to Greek chests and their lids. The preparations for this work - which in former days would have become a volume in the series *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs* (ASR) - go back to 1996 and were stimulated by the ASR editor Güntram Koch. Stefanidou published several preparatory papers. She is the ideal researcher of this class of sarcophagi found in the necropoleis of ancient Thessaloniki. The catalogue counts 241 objects plus 8 separately numbered exemplars from Assos.

Thessaloniki's sarcophagi are already mentioned in the ninth century and occur in travelogues of the nineteenth century as objects visible in and around the city. Especially those in the eastern necropolis along the Via Egnatia were impressive, partly because of their great number (see appendix 1: distribution map). Although for most pieces precise find circumstances are unknown, it is possible to reconstruct how most of them were exposed, that is on a sort of podium *sub divo*, some in since-long vanished tomb buildings. The chests themselves have a plinth which stresses their monumentality. Inscriptions are an important feature; they inform about the buried person(s), the way of exposure of the monument (e.g. in a *heroon*). Inscriptions and format often suggest multiple burials. Very few original burials have been documented, since most chests were reused in post-antique times. The chests' typology is topic of chapter 3. On the basis of size there is a distinc-

tion between sarcophagi and *osteothecae*. The various forms of decoration lead to an extremely detailed typology (see appendices 8-10). Most chest have plain surfaces, with or without mouldings and/or inscriptions, some show figural reliefs. Another large category are sarcophagi and *osteothecae* with garlands. For every (sub-)type the author seeks connections with other production centres. It will not be a miracle that the main sources of inspiration are the eastern sarcophagi centres in western Asia Minor. Chapter 4 discusses the relatively rare figural scenes and motifs carved on these chests. Some bear the portraits of the deceased and their relatives, starting at the beginning of the Hadrianic period and ending under Gallienus. Other motifs include the *heros equitans*, professions, and the equation of the deceased with gods. Various motifs like garlands, Erotes, seasons, Gorgons, and the like would have been chosen thanks to their 'Symbolhaftigkeit' (p. 82): the author follows Robert Turcan and others in this interpretation of funerary symbolism. Since these motifs occur in small numbers, they may have been chosen for personal reasons. In some cases the makers could have drawn inspiration from other monuments (pp. 87-88).

As said, a peculiarity of this class of funerary monuments is the presence of inscriptions. There are 163 instances which are discussed by Pantelis Nigdelis in Chapter 5. 24 inscriptions give clues for a precise dating, some more contain data for a 'relative' chronology. The texts inform about the relatives of the deceased, the way of placement (in life or by relatives or by testament), and of course about the buried persons themselves. Most inscriptions show that the deceased were Roman citizens. In case of those from the third century, this seems logical thanks to the *constitutio antoniniana* of 212, but Nigdelis makes clear that these names can be connected with previous generations of citizens. A few of them belong to the highest circles of the town's elite, but most are middleclass people, e.g. merchants, military people, and civil servants. Strikingly, several sarcophagi bear written rules about the violation of the (deceased in the) tombs and the financial punishments. There are ten epigrams, several of which address immaturely deceased children. Both young and adult people are praised for their virtues. Very few inscription tell about the expectations of - or the lack thereof - a life in the Hades.

In chapter 6 Stefanidou discusses the chronological development of the sarcophagi from Thessaloniki. Of course she profits from the dating epitaphs, although she rightly points out that some of them were added later, but she also takes into account the chests' typology and the relief portraits. The production took place between Hadrian and Gallienus; some inscriptions testify to a later use of the monument. In the same time Thessaloniki saw the production of funerary altars. A fine articulation related to the types of chests and lids (see chapter 3) subdivides them into timespans which coincide with those of many micro-Asian sarcophagi. Yet, as chapter 7 demonstrates, all chests treated in this monograph would be the products of one single 'Werkstatt'. The material from Thasos (see the petrographic analysis by Y Maniatis and D. Tambakopoulos, pp. 149-155), particular measurements, and a limited amount of

typological variations lead to this conclusion. Maybe this section might have gained from a further investigation: the organisation of workshops is far from clear, as we know from studies about the production of sculptures, paintings, ceramics and so on. Stylistic features are not taken into account, and the author could easily have referred to her elucidations in the previous chapters as well as the inscriptions (the chisellers' hand might be an extra clue, but this point has not been researched). Moreover, would a single workshop have functioned constantly for some 130 years? Were the changes due to generation shifts within the workshop's leading members? These and other questions should have been addressed to substantiate the hypothesis of the single workshop.

Chapter 8 brings together all data collected in the previous chapters. This monograph clearly adds a lot to our knowledge on northern-Greek sarcophagus production and use. One question rises at the end of reading the well-written text: why did the production of these sarcophagi and *osteothecae* start under Hadrian and end under Gallienus? The beginning may coincide with an increasing production of these types of chests all-over the Roman empire, but the end seems rather abrupt. Thessaloniki would remain an important town after the middle of the third century. The (re-)use of some sarcophagi by Christians does not solve the problem.

A well organised and rich catalogue, including descriptions and inscriptions with German translations, is accompanied by a set of excellent plates of all known chests. Topographical and thematic indices conclude this fine book.

Eric M. Moormann

MARIO GRIMALDI, *Pompei. Il Foro Civile nella Pompeianorum Antiquitatum Historia di G. Fiorelli*. Naples: Valtrend Editore, 2015. 255 pp., many figs in color; 31 cm (Collana "Pompei" III). – ISBN 978-88-8623-351.

In this book Mario Grimaldi studies the sources about the excavations on the Forum of Pompeii between 1809 and 1824, assembled in 1860 by Giuseppe Fiorelli in his *PAH* (see title). He stresses the importance of the notes made by the various excavators who, between the lines, provide information often overlooked by later scholars. So, it becomes clear that these early workers recognized irregularities in the volcanic infill of the ruins caused by previous excavators, whoever they might be and whenever these works had taken place. As a consequence, Grimaldi can explain (as over the last decades has been done by others as well) the ruinous state the forum presents itself in: pavement slabs, marble veneer, statues, large parts of building materials (especially marble ones) are not lacking because of the AD 79 eruption but of the invasion of robbers. Regarding the bare walls of the Sanctuary of the Lares Publici, he quotes the 1817 report which calls this 'lo stato di una quasi distruzione' (p. 129). The forum was not under (re)construction in AD 79 but functioned in a relatively grand splendor (pp. 20-21). Grimaldi's illustrations demonstrate the looting, but these cannot

give clues about the identity of these vandals (if we may call them this way) as cannot the author. The first two chapters are dedicated to a brief outline of the book - presentation of the old excavation reports and comparison with the monuments itself - and a description of the forum and its monuments. Four phases, from the archaic probably simple piazza with the Temple of Apollo until the marble lavishly decorated set of imperial monuments, can be distinguished. They show the growing self-esteem of the Pompeians. A good map would have served the reader better than the many repetitive images. The subsequent chapters are dedicated to specific (groups of) monuments. Grimaldi repeats things told in Chapter 3, which is no problem, but there should be cross references to text and illustrations. The detailed discussion of various buildings in the Chapter 3-7 does not take into account all modern scholarship (e.g. K. Wallat, *Die Ostseite des Forums von Pompeji*, Frankfurt 1997; R. Oliveto, *Il Foro nell'atrio. Immagini di architetture, scene di vita e di mercato dai Prædia di Iulia Felix (Pompeii, II, 4, 3)*, Bari 2013), and often is little more than a reappraisal of Fiorelli's ideas which, indeed, in various cases are still valuable. Grimaldi leads the reader around the forum, starting with the Temple of Apollo. The find of the bronze Diana and Apollo was highlighted by the excavators and these and other statues are amply discussed in this chapter. Grimaldi does not spend many words on the temple's paintings on which see most recently P. Heslin, *The Museum of Augustus. The Temple of Apollo at Pompeii, the Portico of Philippius in Rome and Roman Poetry* (Los Angeles 2015). The following chapters present the buildings at the south, east, and west side, to finish with the Temple of Jupiter or Capitolium. The subdivision is justified by gathering these monuments according to their functions (shrines, public 'offices', commercial buildings). The forum's arches and statue bases are not discussed by Grimaldi (but see Klaus Müller [not Muller]'s mentioned 2011 monograph on the arches and Oliveto's *Foro*).

Chapter 8 contains a two-pages biography of Fiorelli, followed by the relevant passages on the forum excavations from PAH. Fiorelli's work in and for Pompeii has got great attention over the last decades (see most recently my *Pompeii's Ashes*, Berlin/Boston 2015, 74-82, with bibl.). The conclusion of Chapter 9 stresses the poor condition in which the forum was found in the early 19th century and how previous looting explains the absence of major finds. An Appendix, finally, describes some of famous visitors to the sites for whom often arrangements were made, so that they were present during the (staged) find of some special object.

The study is unbalanced, in that some elements are worked out largely in comparison to other. Especially sculpture is focused on. Moreover, Grimaldi mixes information for a general readership with highly specialized data. The four catalog entry-like descriptions of statues from the Temple of Apollo (p. 79) have no counterparts for the other statues discussed in the book. While the presentation of two highly interesting archaizing (?) bronze heads from the Basilica, almost unknown in scholarship, is tantalizingly brief (pp. 85-87, figs 14-18), there is an ample study of the marble Concordia from the Eumachia Building (pp. 106-120, figs 5-7, 12-13,

16-22). This statue had a spatial connection with the 'Abbondanza' relief outside, which would be a Concordia as well (p. 111). Grimaldi is right to reassess the original context of this and other statues, which has led to much confusion. One would also like to read more on a gallery of *summi viri* to which a herm of Norbanus Sorex is ascribed (p. 112). On Eumachia and the building itself little is said. The modern discussion on the term *chalcidicum*, known from an inscription on the portico's architrave, is ignored. For the reconstruction of the Basilica Grimaldi does not refer to the groundbreaking, yet briefly quoted study by K.F. Ohr. Regarding the twelve bases in the center of the Macellum Grimaldi recalls the excavator's interpretation as a Pantheon, but does not work out this idea or (what would be better) that of a central commodity in the market place (p. 43, fig. 28; pp. 134-136, figs 4, 7). Inscriptions, sometimes quoted and/or illustrated twice without cross references, lack translations and explanations (e.g. p. 95) and transcriptions contain errors (p. 97: OERAVIT instead of JOERAVIT; p. 153: DOCTVS instead of JOCTVS). Grimaldi has not dug into archives to look for further material such as sketches, maps and extra descriptions. As a scholar working in Naples, he might have had an easier access to archives and libraries than people from abroad and I think this is a missed chance.

As a result, the book seems to have been made too rapidly (no wonder, if we look at the author's large production) and bitterly lacks a good editorial reworking. Typos, incorrect references, wording (always *infra* instead of *supra*), false or missing bibliographical references (I name a few only: Ciardiello 2012, Dobbins 1992, Grimaldi 2015, Zanker 1968 and 1973), repetitions, lack of photo references in most cases, and the like irritate the reader unnecessarily. Confusingly, the author sometimes (e.g. p. 117) refers to 'tavole' which are absent; the images are 'figure'.

Eric M. Moormann

ERMINIA GENTILE ORTONA / MIRCO MODOLO, *Caylus e la riscoperta della pittura antica attraverso gli acquarelli di Pietro Santi Bartoli per Luigi XIV. Genesi del primo libro di storia dell'arte a colori*. Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2016. 280 pp., 115 figs, 79 pls; 29.5 cm (Studi sulla Cultura dell'Antico 10). – ISBN 978-88-6557-278-8.

The Count of Caylus (1692-1765) is one of the most fascinating antiquarians of the 18th century. One of his numerous publications was the *Recueil des peintures antiques*, one of the first printed books containing colour illustrations, which reproduced watercolours by Pietro Santi Bartoli. E. Gentile Ortona carried out the research on the genesis of these watercolours and the book, as well as the intellectual environment (Part I, pp. 1-85), whereas M. Modolo studied the plates (Parte II, pp. 153-265; Bartoli's watercolours are reproduced on pp. 87-151). Caylus wrote the work with illustrious colleagues: Pierre Jean Mariette (1694-1774) and Jean Jacques Barthélemy (1716-1795). Mariette edited Cay-

lus' notes in a 'modern' French and organised the complicated production of the copies of the watercolours. Thanks to him, the book got the character of a study on art history rather than an antiquarian treatise. Barthélemy added an essay on the Nile mosaic in Palestina. Drawn there 1:1 on transparent paper, the huge image was reduced in Paris to the folio scale (pl. LXXII). Barthélemy thought that the mosaic recorded Hadrian's visit to Egypt as described by the Greek freedman Valerius Hermaniscus (therefore the names were written in Greek, p. 61, figs 31-32).

Gentile Orlandi reconstructs the *iter* of the watercolours: the 33 watercolours reproduced by Caylus were part of 64 pieces by Bartoli, made for Louis XIV. 31 sheets finished in the Royal Institute of British Architects in London, while the 33 'French' ones rediscovered by Caylus in Paris are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 30 copies only were produced, some of which could be retraced in modern collections (lists of subscribers and modern collections, pp. 78-80).

Archaeologists will especially be interested in Modolo's elucidations of the images. Many of them are well known from other reproductions and Modolo briefly sketches the variants. Few depicted objects have survived the ages (pls LXXIII-LXXXIX). Bartoli was among the most important illustrators in Rome and, together with Bellori, producer of antiquarian books. Although the figures were praised for their exactness, they show stylistic diversities and suggest that the illustrated murals and mosaics were found without lacunae. In some cases they are embellished in respect to previous illustrations by the same Bartoli.

In Caylus' book the plates were arranged according to formal criteria rather than contexts. Thanks to written remarks, these can often be reconstructed. Modolo arranges the material according to find spots in 12 contexts: 9 sites found between 1639 and 1691, two well-known 'old' sites (contexts 10-11: S. Costanza, Basilica of Junius Bassus), and context 12: some pieces in Roman collections. The 'schede' are ordered in consecutive numbers 1-65 describing the single watercolours and giving some archaeological information. I highlight a few of them.

Context 1: a room of a house near S. Gregorio Magno on the Caelius. Its ceiling with a double portrait is rather famous, as are the two lunettes with seascapes. All seem datable to the early third century, for which reason an association with the lake of Nero's Golden House (p. 175) seems too far-fetched. Context 2: a room of a house near the S. Lorenzo in Panisperna, with a painted ceiling compared to that of the studiolo in the House of Augustus and dated to the same era (p. 181). The composition, indeed, is comparable, but it is not possible to make further conclusion on the basis of the ornaments. Context 3: many paintings in two rooms of a house between the Colosseum and the west side of the Golden House. Although dated to various phases, I think that all belong together (so Mielsch; here p. 187) and date to the early third century. The building stood on top of the Baths of Titus which, in fact, belonged to Nero's pavilion, for which reason they cannot be Neronian (so Whitehouse). Pl. LVI (p. 235, scheda 41, context 8) might form part of this set. Context 4: wall mosaics with gladiatorial scenes from the Villa Mattei, now in

Madrid, and an extremely fine black-and-white marine mosaic, all from some bath complex of the Antonine era. Context 5: building at east side of Golden House, near Sette Sale. Some illustrated pieces are still known and have been seen as forgeries. Modolo makes clear than some doubt can be raised about that matter. The ceiling (pl. IX) has a composition with diagonals culminating in a central octagon similar to those painted by workshop C in the Golden House, rooms 23 and 29 ('Volta delle civette'), whereas the depiction of a round room with oculus and marble veneer (pl. VIII) also points at a Neronian date. Contexts 6: late antique rooms with opus sectile wall revetments (cf. context 11, Basilica of Junius Bassus), of which parts apparently went to the house of Johan de Witt Jr in Dordrecht, but were lost in WW II due to a bombardment. The interpretation of the corresponding figural paintings is difficult; probably details were not correctly represented. Context 9: 17 illustrations from tombs in Villa Corsini, outside Porta San Pancrazio on the Gianicolo (see Bartoli's *Antichi sepolcri* from 1697). Bartoli documented finds from a series of 34 tomb buildings in colourful *opus latericium*, used for both urns and sarcophagi, dating to the mid second century AD (e.g. plate XXXIV: tomb of Pomitina Stratonice). They were destroyed for the construction of the villa in what Modolo rightly calls a rescue excavation report, with plans, drawings of both decorations and objects, and fine descriptions.

The documentation of this fine monograph is impeccable, the bibliography is vast, especially refurbished regarding the 17th and 18th centuries, Indexes of names and places make the work easy to consult.

Eric M. Moormann

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN, *Dresdener Schriften. Text und Kommentar*. Herausgegeben von Adolf H. Borbein, Max Kunze und Axel Rügler, mit einer Einleitung von Max Kunze. Bearbeitet von Balbina Bäßler, Eva Hofstetter, Max Kunze und Adelheid Müller unter Mitwirkung von Doreen Paula. Darmstadt: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2016. LII+462 pp., 172 figs; 27 cm (Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Schriften und Nachlaß 9,1) – ISBN 978-3-8053-5045-7.

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN, *Das Sankt Petersburger Manuskript der Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke in der Mahlerey und Bildhauer-Kunst. Faksimiles, Texte und Dokumente*. Bearbeitet von Max Kunze unter Mitwirkung von Eva Hofstetter. Ruppolding: Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, 2016. 173 pp., many figs; 27 cm (Stendaler Winckelmann-Forschungen 11) – ISBN 978-3-4471-0694-8.

Winckelmann's first publications were realised in Dresden, just before his departure to Rome. Despite his limited knowledge of ancient originals some of them are very important and established Winckelmann's

name in the learned world. In his introduction, Max Kunze (at the end, p. XXXII, there is the signature of Adelheid Müller as well) sketches the years 1754-1755, when Winckelmann wrote these texts in the large private library of count Bühnau and the royal one in Dresden. All essays were based on a vast reading begun in Winckelmann's early years and documented in his commonplace books.

The first only posthumously published paper is on some 80 paintings in the royal collections in Dresden, which possessed some 1446 pieces at Winckelmann's time. It starts *mediis in rebus* and also ends abruptly. These canvasses (64 illustrated, some no longer extant, others difficultly retraceable) are analyzed on account of particularities of artistic quality (or lack thereof), style, color schemes, composition, and contours of figures. All these matters would remain a constant feature in Winckelmann's work and for this reason the brief text is relevant. He is less vehement against baroque painters (e.g. praise for the Caracci brothers) than in later works, but singles out Raphael and some sixteenth-century Venetian artists. The piece is also interesting for its innovative terminology: Winckelmann seeks German words to render French or Italian terms. He underlines that a brief viewing of an art work does not suffice to fully understand a work, an idea he will repeat in later works. The fine comment (pp. 199-240), much larger than the dense text (pp. 1-11), has images of all individualized paintings. Most elucidating are explanations of the terminology and language, often giving the origin of Winckelmann's new phrasing. We'll see some examples in the following.

A brief fragment is *Über Xenophon* (pp. 13-16, comment pp. 241-246), one of Winckelmann's preferred Greek authors. Both the man and his work express a 'schöne Natur'. His style is 'vollkommen schön' and has 'edle Einfalt'. 'Einfalt' means 'simplicity' as in the tradition (see comment p. 244), but will become a key motif in Winckelmann's work. 'edel' or noble is an addition which clearly renders it more specific and gives it an esthetic value.

Gedanken vom mündlichen Vortrag der neueren allgemeinen Geschichte is a fragment (pp. 19-26, comment pp. 247-264), in which Winckelmann advocates brevity in telling history. He gives some anecdotal examples.

The lion's share is formed by various versions of *Gedanken [or Gedanken] über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildhauer-Kunst* from 1755 (pp. 27-78, comment pp. 265-323). The first version is the manuscript in St Petersburg, simultaneously edited in a single volume by Max Kunze (see below). A one-page description of the Laocoon is remarkable for Winckelmann's sketch of the two sons on the back (pp. 50, 283), apparently made after a plaster copy or a small bronze in Dresden. This text is followed by that of the first edition. Its vignette, showing Timanthes painting the sacrifice of Iphigeneia in Aulis, is a nice example of *ekphrasis* by Winckelmann's friend Adam Friedrich Oeser. A striking detail is the Agamemnon with his veiled head who looks like the Agamemnon in a painting from the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii discovered in the 1820s. Winckelmann argues that 'der gute Geschmack' stems from the Greeks. With 'Geschmack' Winckelmann refers to the

French 'bon goût', although he gives no sources. Therefore - to quote another famous phrase - 'Der einzige Weg für uns, groß, ja, wenn es möglich ist, unnachahmlich zu werden, ist die Nachahmung der Alten' etc. (p. 56). Reasons of the Greeks' excellence are the nude practice of sport, which leads to good physical and psychic conditions and, for the artists, to ideal models, freedom, and the absence of bloody spectacles. The imitation should be practice in 'Contour' (outline), 'hoher Stil', and 'edle Einfalt und stille Größe'. All these aspects bring the spectator in a mood in which he or she can distinguish real beauty. It is astonishing how many ancient works are referred to. Without autopsy, Winckelmann must have known them from illustrated books.

This line of reasoning continues in *Sendschreiben über die Gedanken von der Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst* from 1756, written as an anonymous review of the *Gedanken*. It is a sometimes witty extension of Winckelmann's thoughts developed therein and discusses the degree of imitating nature (roughly or, as Winckelmann asks, moderately). Half a year later Winckelmann replied to this (own) critique in his *Erläuterung der Gedanken von der Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst*. New points are the Greek language and the country's climate as foundations of the claim that Greece had the supremacy of civilisation.

In *Nachricht von einer Mumie in dem Königl. Cabinet der Alterthümer in Dresden*, Winckelmann assigns a Saqqara mummy to the Roman rather than Egyptian era, following a scientifically sound method, which contrasts with the fanciful approaches of things Egyptian in contemporary scholarship. The inscription EY+YXI is an indication of the mummy's Greek origin, which makes the object post-Egyptian (he reads εὐρυχεί. 'to the very cold one', rather than what is more likely εὐτυχεί, 'to the lucky one' or 'be well').

The last text section, finally, contains a bunch of reviews in German, French, and English, which make clear that the treatises here assembled were received very well. The sometimes long summaries would help to increase Winckelmann's name and fame in the learned world. To these texts, no comments are added.

This volume is a new shining pearl on a string of impeccably edited and thoroughly researched editions of Winckelmann's works. The comments are *Fundgruben* regarding terminology, origin of ideas in other sources, history of research, and works of art and history discussed. Time and again, they strengthen the impression that Winckelmann really was an innovative scholar who constantly worked to improve and expand his hypotheses.

I can be brief about Kunze's edition of the St Petersburg manuscript of the *Gedanken über die Nachahmung*. It is a fascinating rediscovery of one of Winckelmann's manuscripts which, as we know, already became collector's items during his life, but still more afterwards, and ended in numerous collections all over Europe. The 17 pages are illustrated in color facsimiles and followed by a transcription of the two versions of this first draughts and the text of the first printed edition. 20 ancient monuments mentioned are briefly presented in descriptions and small but fine illustrations. All in all, the book gives the same material as *Dresdener Schriften*

9.1, but leaves out the commentary. Kunze adds a German translation of an interesting, relatively unknown essay by Johann Wilhelm von Berger, *De Monumentis Veteribus Musei Dresenensis Regii* from 1745. Winckelmann knew this work and worked out some of its ideas, especially about the quality of Greek art and the need to imitate and emulate it. We should take into account that Berger had almost no knowledge of ancient statues, except for those in Dresden, and based his suggestions on ancient sources.

Both books have been edited impeccably and in a beautiful layout. They form precious studies into Winckelmann's work and ideas.

Eric M. Moormann

GUNNAR BRANDS/MARTIN MAISCHBERGER (eds), *Lebensbilder. Klassische Archäologen und der Nationalsozialismus* 2. Rahden/Westf.: Leidorf, 2016. X+436 pp., 155 figs; 29.5 cm (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Menschen – Kulturen – Traditionen. Studien aus den Forschungscustern des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Band 2,2). – ISBN 978-3-86757-394-8.

This volume is the sequel of *Lebensbilder* 1 from 2012 and presents rather extended biographies of archaeologists who occupied important academic, museum, or institutional positions in the twentieth century and for whom World War II was a crucial and often dramatic part of their lives. In their brief preface, G. Brands and M. Maischberger recall the goals set out in the long introduction of volume 1 and reflect on some issues brought to the fore in reviews and other publications. The lives have been written by scholars who in some cases devoted other publications to the persons portrayed. All have made use extensively of unpublished archive materials. Only the brief contribution on Henri Stern by J.-P. Darmon is little more than an essayistic sketch. Like Darmon, some authors highlight scholarly work, others focus on personality and/or organizational activities. There are two women (Semni Karouzou and Gerda Bruns) and eighteen men; one American and one French, ten Germans, two Austrians, two Greeks, and four Italians. They were born between 1864 (Theodor Wiegand) and 1905 (Gerda Bruns), and died between 1936 (Wiegand) and 1994 (Karousou). Most stem from well-positioned families, with industrials, medical doctors, and academics. Many have had in common bonds with the German Archaeological Institute (in the following abbreviated as DAI), especially the Germans who were working within one of the institute's branches. In the following I single out some significant points, and begin with four DAI presidents, acting between 1933 and 1960.

Theodor Wiegand's is a success story. A great career as excavator in Priene, Miletus, and Pergamon, and as director of the Berlin museums, he was president of the DAI in the years 1933-1936 (life written by J. Althoff, F. Jagust, and S. Altekamp). He enjoyed high esteem from governmental and academic circles. During his last years he had to work with the Nazi regime for his DAI.

He helped many German colleagues of his and subsequent generations to get jobs in and outside the DAI. Like many colleagues he was a German nationalist, strongly believing in the traditions of the Kaiserreich and disillusioned after WW I. Altekamp extensively discusses his excavation methods applied in Asia Minor, a conservative 'Flachengrabung' which aimed at reconstructing large building structures and urban features rather than analyzing stratigraphic sequels and practicing processual archaeology as did his peer fellow M. Wheeler. Wiegand disliked long-term excavations and, indeed, concluded various large projects within relatively short timespans.

Within DAI administration, Martin Schede was the central person after Wiegand's death, until 1945 (officially 1947). M. Maischberger sketches the career of a mediocre student who became a good archaeologist under Wiegand who was (p. 106) 'bis zu seinem Tode Schedes Mentor', in Samos, Didyma and Miletus. His diplomatic skills served in shaping the new DAI institute in Istanbul from where he went to Berlin. He endorsed NS ideology, but was barely active *in politicis*. His membership of the NSDAP and his official nomination as president by Hitler came relatively late and Maischberger suggests that there was some opposition against his person. The WW II years gave him little satisfaction: he lost two sons in the war, the DAI was out of order, and he had little opportunity for research. Maischberger cites many documents to underpin his very well balanced judgement of this shadowy person, who met a miserable end in a Russian concentration camp in January 1947.

Carl Weickert had the difficult task to restore the DAI's old status and prestige (portrait by M. Krumme and M. Vigener) in the 1940s-1950s. He had gained practice in Olympia and the DAI Rome, after which he fought in WW I, and worked in universities, museums and the DAI Athens. His critical attitude towards NS ideology and racism prevented him from getting good professorships, despite qualities like discipline and diplomacy. Finally, in 1936, he became director of the antiquity museums in Berlin, which would imply the difficult task of bringing the collection to save locations outside Berlin (with Bruns, see below). After WW II he had to restore the DAI's old relevance and prestige in international circles. Trying to keep both old collaborators and acquire new forces, his attitude to returning Jews apparently was rude (p. 217). After his retirement he finally took up archaeological explorations in Miletus. Weickert, therefore, will be remembered first of all as the man who reconstructed the DAI and gave it a sound basis for the future.

Weickert's successor, Erich Boehringer, was a 'Feingeist', follower of the poet Stefan George (article by M. Vigener). George had a great influence on scholars, among whom Karl Schefold and Boehringer's brother Robert (see also U. Raulff, *Kreis ohne Meister. Stefan Georges Nachleben*, Munich 2009). Boehringer worked with Wiegand and Curtius (see below) and was ambivalent towards NS ideology. He became an NSDAP member in 1937 like so many people who wanted to pursue their professional career. His work as a cultural attaché in Athens 1940-1943 remains shrouded in dark-

ness, since the embassy archives were destroyed by the Germans in 1944. After the war, the ambassador would say that Boehringer represented the 'other' Germany. After professorships in Greifswald and Göttingen he was president of the DAI from 1954, when it had definitely become a West-German institution, until 1960. As an organizer he was instrumental for the development of the DAI.

One of the most famous German archaeologists of the 20th century and important DAI officials, Ludwig Curtius, is dismally portrayed by S. Diebner and C. Jansen. They define him, from his first steps, as an extremely conservative catholic nationalist, early influenced by anti-Semitic and nationalist publications. His splendid career, begun as a student of Adolf Furtwängler, brought him to Erlangen, Freiburg and Heidelberg. He was a volunteer soldier in WW I and at both fronts. After the defeat, he believed in Germany's role as a victim of WW I. Anti-bolshevism was another vehement feeling next to sympathy for fascist Italy. As a scholar and professor, he advocated a strong superiority of Greek art (contra prehistory). His finest hour was the DAI Rome directorship (1928-1937), where he stimulated the public divulgation of archaeology and contributed little to research. He had a great and expensive household and did not gain the sympathy of all his colleagues. He gradually lost power and was sent into pension in 1937. During WW II he tried to make money with the publication of popular works, among which a Rome guidebook for German soldiers. Diebner and Jansen make clear that Curtius presented himself as an impeccable humanist, anti-Nazi and pro-Semitic, i.a. in his widely spread autobiography *Deutsche und antike Welt* from 1950. This is still a fine read, but clearly forms a masquerade of feelings never abandoned.

Georg Karo, an excellent scholar and good organizer, was an ideal functionary within the DAI structure (contribution A. Lindelauf). Although Jewish from descent, he was, like many other intellectual Jews, a German nationalist who apparently even believed in some of the NS ideas (pp. 63-64), while working in Athens as director of the DAI branch until his forced retirement in 1936. He retired to Munich, where he really suffered from being a Jew. A process of 'Arisierung' failed and he could no longer publish. His misery did not finish in his American exile (Oberlin, Ohio): here he was accused of being a NS spy and never got American citizenship. In 1952 he returned to Germany, where his pension was settled. The 'fazit' of Karo's life and work is not easy: strong German nationalist, not far from NS ideas, and victim, who never accused his compatriots and only asked financial compensation after WW II.

Fritz Krischen's life, described by P.I. Schneider, is the exemplary career of a practicing architect who gradually became a *Bauforscher* specialised in ancient architecture. He worked with Wiegand and was inspired by him to pursue an archaeological career, although his posts in Aachen and Danzig gave him relatively little opportunity to develop research on classical architecture. When he took up an analysis about the sources of Theodoric's tomb in Ravenna, NS people criticised him for not highlighting its possible 'German' roots.

A rather dire portrait is that of Fritz Schachermayr by M. Pesditchek, who already published a biography in 2009. Schachermayr was an Austrian nationalist, who was in military service during WW I. Immediately after his appointment in Jena in 1931 he became active within the NSDAP. Pesditchek argues that he was a life-long anti-Semite and anti-Enlightenment person, who felt an inferiority complex as a Catholic and Austrian. Among his publications, some show clear connections with Nazi ideology. After Heidelberg Schachermayr returned in 1941 to Austria (Graz), where he researched Etruscan and Hittite archaeology as well as 'Rassenfragen' culminating in his 1944 *Lebensgesetzlichkeit in der Geschichte. Versuch einer Einführung in das geschichtsbiologische Denken*. After a forced retirement between 1945 and 1952, Schachermayr became professor in Vienna with the help of former Nazi friends who now denied NS activities from the side of the candidate. His *Griechische Geschichte* of 1960 ideologically does not differ from his Nazi publications and his 1985 autobiography ignores his past, sketching his German university years as an idyll. He received various honorary doctorates and other prizes, apparently under the all-forgetting aegis of important connections (e.g. Kurt Waldheim, p. 308).

Robert Heidenreich apparently had no problem in pursuing academic careers under the Nazi and DDR dictatorial systems (so L. Winkler-Moraček). He briefly worked in the Scheurleer collection in The Hague, before getting academic jobs in Jena and Leipzig. He researched on Aegean and Near-Eastern prehistory and applied NS ideas of 'Völkerkunde'. Bonds with Himmler lead to the study of the Tomb of Theodoric in Ravenna, to be explored as phenomenon of Germanic culture in Italy. Heidenreich was active as a soldier in both WW I and II. As early as 1933 he became a member of the NSDAP, which he said later to have joined out of opportunism. 1945-1953 he could not but work as a 'Privatgelehrter', without income unless that of his wife as a school teacher. The years 1953-1965, however, he could occupy professorships in Jena and Leipzig again, and subscribed the DDR ideology. Explorations in communist countries like Uzbekistan and China got momentum in various publications. His scientific work does not reflect ideas, remains rather 'nüchtern' and was acceptable for the new regime, that either simply accepted Heidenreich's past or was deceived by the blunt negations expressed to be rehabilitated.

More evasive is the person of Guido von Kaschnitz-Weinberg, who had an impeccable academic career and cannot be seen as a real Nazi, sympathiser, victim, but neither as an 'Widerstandler' (p. 276; contribution W. Raeck). His work is still well-known for its 'Strukturforschung' about which he published eminent essays. Originally an Austrian, who fought at the Isonzo line in WW I, he came to Munich and made career in the DAI and German academia. As a professor in Marburg (1937-1941), he founded the first institute of prehistory. His attitude in Frankfurt, from 1941, was characterized after the war as that of a 'Mitläufer', but it could be proved that he had acted, as far as possible, against Nazism in academia. He would be instrumental in re-edifying Frankfurt's archaeological institute, and from

1947 he was DAI Rome's director, a 'clean' person instrumental to re-establish the institute's position, the existence of which was far from warranted in post-war Italy.

The Elzass family of Gerda Bruns had to flee from its hometown after WW I. losing its property. I. Wehgartner sketches how Bruns studied in various towns and worked with Wiegand in Pergamon, where she substituted him various times and was to become the official leader, if her gender did not exclude that within the DAI's rules. She worked with Weickert in the Berlin museums and had to seek shelter for the collection next to surviving all bomb attacks. For the second time, she lost her personal archive and belongings, now in 1945. Weickert took her with him to the DAI. Her habilitation on the Grand Camée de France was only submitted in 1953, but as a woman she would not obtain a professorship. Work in the DAI Rome and, after her official retirement, in the Kabirion near Thebes filled her life rather satisfactorily, but clearly Bruns' gender hindered greatly to develop a 'normal' career.

Otto Rubensohn worked as a teacher in a classical gymnasium, as a museum keeper (Hildesheim) and as a researcher. K. Lembke and A. Pomerance present a 'Gelehrtenbiographie' and concentrate on Rubensohn's studies on, among other things, Greco-Roman Egypt and Paros. He was a national conservative who refrained from political activities and did not immediately see the Nazi threats for himself and his family. As late as 1939 he fled to Basel, helped by Karl Schefold, who had fled to Basel in 1935 with his Jewish wife Marianne von den Steinen. After his rehabilitation in Germany he remained active. His last publication, on Paros, came out in 1962, when he was 95 years old.

Henri Stern was born in Munich as Heinrich Stern and emigrated in 1933 to France where, after difficult WW II years, he would make a scientific career within the CNRS, especially in the field of ancient mosaics.

Roberto Paribeni (contribution M. Munzi) has been seen as 'l'archeologo fascista tout court' (p. 113). In his work on the eastern Mediterranean he stresses Italy's importance: its *romanità* proved how archaeology becomes an instrument of Italian cultural imperialism. His many public and organizational functions made that his scientific activities were relatively small, despite many field work projects in Turkey, Albania, and Libya. Carthage is seen as a Semitic pendant of the great imperialistic colonizer Great Britain. Like Pace he was licensed in 1944/1945, but took up his former duties in 1945/1946 and became a member of the neo-fascist Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI). His enrolment in the post-war academic system could probably happen thanks to the new Demo-Christian politicians. Munzi defines Paribeni as the paradigm of a generation of nationalistic and active archaeologists who wanted to give a place to Italian culture in the Mediterranean.

N. de Haan sketches the life of Umberto Zanotti-Bianco, a non-professional Italian archaeologist who became involved in south-Italian archaeology, when he worked as a sort of social worker in Calabria. Thanks to the guidance of Libero Orsi he got a professional level. His fame came with the discovery of the Heraion near Paestum with his good friend Paola Zancani

Montuoro. De Haan makes clear how his work on 'Greek' Italy met with negative feelings from the fascists who saw archaeology as a means to enhance Italy's *italianità* or *romanità*. Zanotti Bianco was even 'exiled', a punishment frequently practiced by the fascists, but could stay (and work!) in Paestum, so that his time was relatively well spent.

Despite his provenance from Sicily, Biagio Pace would not have supported Zanotti Bianco. His life and work, described by P. Giamellano, concentrated on a demonstration of the independence of pre-Greek inhabitants from Greek and Punic colonist. All his work shows a strong anti-Semitic tendency and stresses the *italianità* of indigenous cultures. In contrast to Manacorda's characterization of Pace as a 'fascista archeologo', Giamellano sees him as a pure nationalist. After WW II he was first suspended from professional and honorific functions, but thanks to the positive pleas of many colleagues he could take up his duties. Politically he adhered the MSI and remained in the sphere of the ex-fascists. Nevertheless, Pace was a great and important scholar, whose *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica* (I-IV, 1935-1949) is still fundamental.

Doro Levi, the forth Italian portrayed (by A.L. D'Agata), is somewhat comparable to Karo. He suffered from anti-Jew laws, went to the USA (where he would publish his splendid study on the Antioch mosaics) and returned to Italy, apparently never uttering complaints or accusations regarding the past. D'Agata stresses his literary interests, expressed by his insertion of quotations from a wide array of authors. Levi apparently did not say or write much about his personal feelings. He will be remembered as an enthusiastic and stimulating director of the Italian School in Athens and the excavator of Phaistos, about which he published a set of excellent monographs.

William Bell Dinsmoor, portrayed by S. Dyson, played a moral rather than functional role in the establishment as well as rupture of contacts between American and German archaeologists. As the president of the American Institute of Archaeology he felt constraint to give up membership of the DAI in 1940 (several colleagues had done this before and some would follow his example). The reaction in Berlin and Athens was to cut, indeed, all bonds with the sister institutes, whereas Von Gerkan in Rome found Dinsmoor's action of little relevance for the Roman situation, since Dinsmoor was a 'Greek' archaeologist. Dinsmoor would be active in committees to make inventories of the cultural heritage damages after the war and even acted for some months as an interim director of the American Academy in Rome. Similarly interesting is Dyson's characterisation of Dinsmoor as a representative of the American East coast cultural elite, stemming from one of the ivy leave universities (Harvard) and working for decades in another (Columbia). He carried out many projects on *Bau-forschung*, but completed a few only, so that his work cannot be judged as very fragmentary.

A moving portrait of a couple in archaeology and affection is that of Christos and Semni Karousos by Ph. Koutsoukou. Both of them were, among other achievements, instrumental in setting up the National Museum in Athens after WW II. They made a parallel career in ephories and museum settings, but were under suspi-

cion of communist feelings under the regime of Metaxas in the 1930s. Even after WW II their leftist attitude did not only bring positive estimation. Christos died in 1967 and had not to endure the colonels' regime (1967-1974) from which Semni suffered gravely. She was lucky to get support from the large circle of international friend, i.a. Schefold.

The editors have no plans to publish more volumes, which is quite understandable, although every reader would be able to propose other candidates for this kind of biographies. They should be praised, again, for the meticulous editorship and, foremost, for launching this important project. As in 'normal' life, most archaeologists were no heroes, many were fellow travellers who tried to clean their blazons in order to continue the work they loved. Many of the portrayed colleagues were influential, holding important positions. A sequel to this study might be a network analysis of the relationships in archaeological academia. The two *Lebensbilder* volumes definitely supply a rich kit of material for that.

Eric M. Moormann

ELENI PAPAGIANNI, *Attische Sarkophage mit Erotten und Girlanden*. Ruhpolding: Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, 2016. XXII, 196 pp., 10 figs, 64 pls; 28.5 cm (Sarkophag-Studien Band 9). – ISBN 978-3-447-10437-1.

This book is the reworked and translated version of a Greek dissertation defended in 2007 in the Aristotle University at Thessaloniki. It forms a thorough study of a class of Attic sarcophagi dating to the second and third centuries on which Eros and garlands are the major decorative themes; they were partly already collected in the *Antike Sarkophag-Reliefs* vols IX 1, 1 (Sabine Rogge) and IX 1, 3 (John Oakley). These fine chests form the largest class of Attic sarcophagi and their four sides may contain other scenes than those studied as well. After an introduction (Chapter 1) follows an extensive Chapter 2 on iconography. The depictions of Eros are classified according to a not clearly explained typology and starts with the Dionysiac *komos* in which they appear as members of the *thiasos*. In this and other sub-sections Papagianni discusses the most representative pieces and tries to glean general characteristics. There are also post-symposion processions and sacrificial scenes, the latter sometimes with Psyche as one of the participants. The juxtaposition of these two worlds on the same chest indicates that the scenes had no realistic meaning ('Inhalt', p. 27); the motifs stem from all sorts of ancient figural sources and apparently only served decorative functions. In the run of time music is more popular as an activity, and, again, the combination with other *komos* themes gives the scenes a purely decorative flavour. This process of eclecticism is also demonstrated by the insertion of activities from the symposium itself. Papagianni makes clear that the types stem from neo-Attic workshops that produced luxurious reliefs like craters. Similar observations are made for other themes like grape harvesting Eroses, where *kline* sarcophagi are a model genre. Chariot

races often are funny scenes with lions and panthers as draught animals. They go back to various sorts of Hellenistic and Roman art works, but seem to have been made for a west-Roman audience that was familiar with racing (p. 41). Hunting, palaestra, playing, and the couple Eros-Psyche are other motifs displaying a great interest in the figure of Eros as a distant mirror of the world of heroes.

The second studied class is that of Attic garland sarcophagi on which the fruit garlands are held up by bull heads, *bucrania*, eagles, as well as Eroses. Papagianni discusses the pedigree of the various constituents, which gives a concoction of elements from various areas, periods, and motif bearers. The same is true for the filling elements of lunettes, lateral and back sides, and half-round spaces within the curves of the garlands. A table (p. 73) shows the juxtaposition of the two motifs (Eroses and garlands) in various combinations.

Chapter 3 on the 'architectonic' form of these sarcophagi makes clear that the shapes in origin are Attic, having a base, a wall ('aufgehendes Mauerwerk', p. 78), and a cornice. The shape of the moulds changes over the years and can become rather complicated. (cf. figs 1-4). The roof-shaped lid gives the chest its form of a built structure (p. 78). The wall is treated as an Ionic frieze, with adornments of the sort we have seen in chapter 2. Figures seem floating on the surface or get a base in the shape of a plinth or a ground line. The chest's corners can be accentuated by standing figures, which perhaps get the function of atlantes and caryatids standing on corner bases ('Eckpodeste', p. 70). Some sarcophagi have a *kline* rather than a gabled roof as lid. In that case there may be legs depicted on the chests. There are no standard measurements.

Chapter 4 shows the difficulty of defining a chronological framework. Most pieces have no context or have a badly studied context like a chamber tomb. Moreover, the sarcophagi remained in use for many decades all over the ancient world. Inscriptions of the deceased persons are almost entirely absent. Papagianni tackles this problem by analysing a number of high-quality pieces on the basis of a somewhat subjective (by her admitted) stylistic analysis (e.g. cat. 60, pp. 87-88, pl 1, 52: Hadrianic era). Papagianni's stylistic analyses look rather convincing, but undoubtedly some of them remain guesses, since the comparanda stem from other genres, have different sizes, and contexts. These monuments show features of what might be called a Hadrianic, Antonine or other 'Generalstil'. The acme of the production is dated to 150-180, whereas the third century has yielded very few examples.

There is a brief chapter 5 on the meaning of Eroses' representations. Since it seems rather sure that children were buried in these sarcophagi, the Eroses serve as intermediates between their world and that of the adults. This sounds fine, but the author has no literary or other sources to substantiate this suggestion. Sometimes this new world is less realistic, e.g. when felines serve in chariot races and enormous beasts form the prey of hunting. Real children's scenes like the palaestra testify to the idealisation of the prematurely deceased persons. Chapter 6 makes clear how this class of sarcophagi was object of commerce throughout the Mediterranean world (see the distribution map of fig. 8). Yet

the lion's share remained in Athens (40 %) or went to adjacent regions in the eastern part of the empire. The popularity is evidenced by a great number of local imitations, often used next to originals (e.g. Salona). These works are the topic of chapter 7. They may differ in the combination of motifs, style, use of other material than Pentelic marble, and the like. But sometimes the differences between the genuine pieces and imitations is not very clear. A brief chapter 8 sums up the main results, which I have also tried to glean from the clearly articulated and well written text. The catalogue contains a lot of unpublished material, well described and from now available for further study. The pieces are catalogued according to their present whereabouts. Most are illustrated on one of the excellent black-and-white photographs. In sum, this is a fine study on a rather well known class of sarcophagi that clearly was a popular class of burial places for children.

Eric M. Moormann

SABINE NEUMANN, *Grotten in der Hellenistischen Wohnkultur*. Marburg: Archäologisches Seminar der Philipps-Universität, 2016. XI+223 pp., 222 figs, table; 30 cm (Marburger Beiträge zur Archäologie 4). – ISBN 978-3-8185-0528-8.

This study is the result of a Munich PhD project submitted in 2013 and slightly reworked. Neumann starts from the observation that in the late Hellenistic period villas and houses included artificial grottoes as parts of the luxurious arrangements, and brings important new data to the fore, which enhance our insight into late Hellenistic house and villa culture. Neumann's departing point is a set of three grottoes cut out in the *poros* rock of the acropolis of the city of Rhodes on Rhodes, discussed in the long and clearly articulated chapter II. They are located in the northern section, not far from the remains of a temple dedicated to Athena and Zeus. Since their discovery by Italian archaeologists in the 1920s the grottoes have been topic of research as cult places dedicated to nymphs or as municipal park devices adorned with Hellenistic sculptures. The latter were seen as relevant predecessors of the famous grotto of Sperlonga sculptures with their mythical themes. Neumann has gone *ad fontes* and made a thorough documentation, which now forms the basis of her evaluation of the monuments themselves and their place within the discourse.

'Grotto I' has various elements, especially two apsidal spaces hewn from the rock, flanking a rectangular space with a basin. A corridor connects it with a second rectangular open space with some niches; a staircase leads to a plateau. 'Grotto II' is a similar rectangular space flanked by apses which contain remains of a stucco coating. 'Grotto III' is connected with Grotto II by means of a corridor. It is, again, a squarish open space, now flanked at one side by an apse. All apses were adorned with niches of various sizes, formerly seen as accommodations for votive offerings and other religious activities. Neumann interprets them as belonging to the architectural decoration. Three portrait sculptures and a marble mask found in Grotto I are briefly dis-

cussed and identified as pieces from other contexts fallen into the grotto at an unknown moment. The grottoes' chronology is complicated. They are situated within the third-century grid of streets (see fig. 106) and contain traces of First Style stucco decorations pointing at the later second or early first century BC. In a later, barely datable moment grottoes II and III functioned as cisterns.

The lion's share of this chapter is dedicated to the interpretation of the grottoes. As said, they were either seen as religious places or as parts of a city park, or as a combination of the two. Neumann makes clear that both interpretations do miss sufficient ground on the basis of the architectural features and cultural aspects. In her view, the grottoes belong to private properties rather than the public domain. Neumann also deconstructs Hans Lauter's well-known interpretation of the Rhodini Valley as a Hellenistic 'Lustpark': its shape was predominantly formed during the Italian occupation of the island (p. 76) and the ancient grottoes are the remains of ancient stone quarries. This *excursus* is necessary to demonstrate that there were no public Rhodian nature parks at all. The grottoes belonged to private properties just like other instances, among which not only private dwellings, but also semi-public buildings of guild-like unions, studied in a subsequent section. All these rather small complexes yielded relatively large numbers of sculptures, mostly preserved as fragments. A highlight is the bronze sleeping Eros, nowadays in the Metropolitan Museum (p. 91, fig. 128); unfortunately, its itinerary from Rhodes to New York is not explained. Neumann's reasoning is clear and convincing and leads to the discovery of a new phenomenon in Hellenistic house architecture.

Chapter III zooms out towards Hellenistic sites where similar grottoes have been found. Neumann starts with a couple of cases in palaces known from written sources (e.g. *thalamegos* of Ptolemy IV). A spectacular example is the Hellenistic palace at 'Iraq al-Amir, not far from Amman, with seventeen grottoes, which most probably are those described by Flavius Josephus (*Antiquitates Judaearum* 12.230-234) as part of the residence of King Hyrkan in the first quarter of the 2nd century BC. Among the cases at Athens discussed, several were interpreted as sanctuaries for Pan and the nymphs. Neumann makes clear that they belong to the luxurious commodities of private houses. So, the famous 'Prison of Socrates' was a small bath complex in grotto caves, to be connected with a house no traces of which have been found yet (pp. 118-120).

After a presentation of three houses on Delos, also discussed by Monica Trümper (see p. 120 note 711), Neumann passes to Republican Italy. She is right in saying that later material is extensively known and that the relevance of the earlier complexes lies in a probable connection with the eastern Mediterranean. The technique of *opus caementicium* created new construction possibilities, going beyond the natural grottoes cut out in rock formations. It must, however, be said that the chronology of the ten complexes presented is problematic, since the use of specific materials or building techniques is less indicative than we wish. So the Bovillae grotto is dated to the second century on the basis of the use of *peperino* tuff, and that at

Scauri to the same era, although nothing but *opus reticulatum* walls from the imperial era are known. The chronology of the famous grotto in Sperlonga is as uncertain as that of the other remains hitherto not accurately researched. Most grottoes show traces of later intervention, frequently the only way in which they remained in use for centuries. Similar processes are observed in Rhodos, but, as far as I can see, the Italian situation is still more complicated. Therefore, this section results to be somewhat problematic.

Chapter IV discusses the development, function and meaning of the grotto motif and starts with representations on archaic ceramic (Polyphemos, Herakles etc.). Most relevant are votive relief for Pan and/or the Nymphs on which the grotto representations develop into plastically full-fledged elements contemporary with the first artificial grottoes discussed before. However, these and other representations do not reflect the use of grottoes in the private sphere, as is true for some grotto complexes discussed in the same chapter. In sum, the most relevant parallels for the Rhodos grottoes are those on Delos and in Italy, since here the house or villa context is clear. At the end of the chapter, Neumann presents observations on the use of grottoes for dinner and drinking parties as well as for the veneration of gods are made, all interesting but, again, only partly relevant for the house contexts.

The grottoes in Rhodos clearly are the main topic, which might have been indicated in the title. The book is well written and attractively edited, with many high-quality illustrations.

Eric M. Moormann

KLAUS STEFAN FREYBERGER/CHRISTINE ERTEL (+), unter Mitarbeit von Arwa H. Darwish, Kathrin Tacke und der Verwendung der Dokumentation von Heinrich Bauer, *Die Basilica Aemilia auf dem Forum Romanum in Rom. Bauphasen, Rekonstruktion, Funktion und Bedeutung*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2016. 244 pp., 266 b/w figs, 27 colour figs, 80 pls, 5 appendices; 34,0 cm (Sonder-schriften des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Rom 17) – ISBN 978-3-89500-976-1.

An average tourist strolling the Forum Romanum will not spend much time to study the scanty remains of the Basilica Aemilia, but archaeologists have paid a lot of attention to the complex, so that we possess two new German monographs: Johannes Lipps, *Die Basilika Aemilia am Forum Romanum* (Wiesbaden 2011) and the book presented here, both edited under the auspices of the German Archaeological Institute. Both books go back to work done by the late Heinrich Bauer, who only published a couple of brief papers, and Christine Ertel who died unexpectedly in 2015, briefly before the publication of this monograph. The authors carried out field work *in situ* between 2005 and 2008. The study starts with the Basilica's foundation in 179 BC and ends in the 8th century AD. Chapter 1 briefly sketches previous research and the goal of the work, i.e. the definition of building phases and a reconstruction of

the Augustan situation in 14 BC. Chapter 2 discusses earlier buildings on this place until the erection of Augustus' Basilica. Each section is structured in a clear way, beginning with a presentation of the extant or observed remains and followed by a reconstruction, if possible. The oldest traces visible belong to twelve *sacella* (0 to 11) among which the *Puteal Libonis*, where the tribunal of the praetor was located, and the shrines dedicated to *Venus Cloacina* and Janus. These often very old structures were connected with the archaic history of Rome and were time and again restored, while they were transformed into marble monuments after 14 BC (see color plate 5; Beilage 4). The Basilica itself got the function of a 'Memorialbau' in combination with the *sacella* (p. 31). Behind them stood the third-century 'Basilica I' of which some fundament blocks were found. 'Basilica II' is the one connected with Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and the name-giving Aemilius Lepidus (p. 37). Its remains were found on some three meters under the Augustan pavement and its plan should have been more or less the same as that of the Augustan building (see fig. 41). A water clock was installed in *taberna* 9 in or briefly after 159 BC (see also the modern-looking clock on fig. 122).

A 'marmorisation' of the Basilica in 54 BC was followed by that of Augustus. This is the monument more or less visible and discussed in chapter 3, when we take into account further interventions until ca 100. Augustus apparently financed the new building without being mentioned as the patron (as, accordingly, mentioned in his *Res gestae* 20 in respect to all restoration works; cf. p. 134). The description starts with the interior rather than the exterior, and in the room the revetments of bottom and walls are the first items discussed and reconstructed. A rich marble pavement in the central hall was surrounded by more austere greyish pavements in the internal porticoes. One might compare the variety of marble types with that in the Forum Augustum where it has been interpreted as a reference to the parts of the Roman Empire. The walls were covered with marble revetment, also reconstructed on the basis of the remains of slabs and traces in the mortar. Two tiers of red *africano* columns added to the colorful interior suggestively reconstructed on color plate 8. An old question pertains the position, composition, and chronology of the figural frieze with scenes from the oldest history of Rome. Differing from work by Peter Kränzle, the authors conclude that they belonged to the wall revetment of the lower section and date to the Augustan building phase rather than 80 BC, which seems likely and based on a sound stylistic analysis of the reliefs. The *tabernae* and the external façade are extensively discussed. Bauer's reconstructions are used as a basis, yet improved and partly replaced by new proposals. Especially the façade looks different, with one row of arcades in the lower section and squarish openings in the upper floor's loggia. *Imagines clipeatae* (unfortunately lacking the heads originally made of different material) and standing Parthians enhanced the triumphal character of its decoration. The Parthians were a reference to Augustus' restitution to Rome of the lost military insignia in 20.

Chapter 4 discusses the annexes of the Basilica, viz. the honorary Arch of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the

'Arco di Giano', and Augustus' Actium and Parthian Arches (cf. fig. 142 and the reconstructions). These monuments formed either part of the basilica's building or were narrowly connected. Freyberger could not yet discuss the latest proposal that the latter two arches were one monument only (Ph. Baas, *BABESCH* 90, 2015, 109-124). Chapter 5 briefly presents the vicissitudes during late antiquity and medieval times. Despite traces of a fire in AD 410, the aula remained in use and the south side portico was immediately repaired. The western part was still extant in the fifteenth century and parts were apparently incorporated in later buildings. The likewise brief chapter 6 presents a state-of-the-art discussion of the function and meaning of the basilica, starting with its predecessor, the Basilica Fulvia. The monuments were 'Brennpunkte öffentlichen Lebens', functioning in various ways on the hotspot of urban life. Next to the practical functions, the building had a high degree of prestige and image building for the successive families involved in the construction. The book closes with summaries in German, English and Italian, followed by indices and a report on static matters regarding the reconstruction. The plates are fine and convey a lot of information. A nice finale is formed by the 3-D-models (color plates 5-8), which might be too clean. They have all details indicated, but the reader cannot distinguish between the real elements used for it and the additions.

Eric M. Moormann

ANDREAS GUTSFELD/STEPHAN LEHMANN (eds), *Der gymnische Agon in der Spätantike*. Gutenberg: Computus Druck Satz & Verlag: 2013. 240 pp, figs in text and 36 figs; 24.5 cm (Pietas 6). – ISBN 078-3-940598-18-9/ISSN 1432-542X

Most readers will be familiar with the idea that the ancient Olympics lasted until the 4th century AD, when the emperor Theodosius abolished them out of religious zeal, thereby ending a tradition that had lasted for more than a millennium. However, the volume under review, the proceedings of a symposium on *Der Agon in der Spätantike* held in Halle in 2005, suggests that the demise of ancient athletics was more complex. The discussion is part of a wider trend to challenge traditional ideas about the athletic culture in late antiquity, and contributes to a new narrative of transformation and decline. Contests disappeared only gradually, and were stripped of their religious significance in the process. Festivals became games, part of a wider culture of spectacle connected with the representation of imperial power. The emphasis placed by Gutsfeld et al. on the survival (and transformation) of certain individual contests (up to the 6th century), will serve as a useful correction of traditional views, but the discussion is not helped by the fact that there seems to be some terminological confusion. The volume clearly defines its subject as the role of *agones*, but in practice the discussion is not limited to these, and all kinds of spectacle and entertainment are brought into the discussion.

The volume successfully criticises the notion that Christianity was one of the main forces opposing tra-

ditional Greek athletics (a point already made by Weiler: I. Weiler, Theodosius I. und die Olympischen Spiele, *Nikephoros* 17, 2004, 53-75). Christian objections were raised against the immorality of spectacles, but there is little evidence that the Church objected to the athletic exercises per se. Festivals were stripped of their pagan attributes, and were not tolerated on Christian festive days. Moreover, the vocabulary of athletics became integrated in the language of the Church, and even some Christian athletes were known (presumably not including the few 4th century champions who made dedication in the Egyptian sanctuary of Bes at Abydos, discussed by Effland in this volume). Unfortunately, the volume lacks a chapter to deal explicitly with Christian views on the athletic body and athletic practice.

Hahn discusses the long-term history of athletic contests in the city of Antioch which we can follow from the 1st century until the 6th century when the local Olympics were deprived of funding by the emperor Justinian. He quotes a part of an interesting sermon by the monophysite bishop Severus, which is one of the last references to the contests at Antioch. Whether these agonistic traditions were always known as Olympics is, however, debatable: a recent article by Remijsen who raises this point appeared too late to be taken into account (S. Remijsen, The Introduction of the Antiochene Olympics: A Proposal for a New Date, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 50, 2010, 411-436).

It is very good that the volume takes into account material, and not only written evidence, but its relevance to the main question is not always evident. Rohn discusses the building history of the remarkable theatre-stadion of Aizanoi from the 1st to the late 3rd century; and Beste discusses late antique building history of the Colosseum, which was not, however, used for athletic contests. Lehman discusses visual representation of athletes in art. The habit of erecting statues for successful athletes seems to have declined, and the last known statue was set up in Olympia in the 260's. Occasional athletic statues were still set up in Rome (by emperors, rather than by the successful athletes themselves) until the 4th century, but the visual language lived on. A fashion for athletic scenes on mosaics took off in the 4th century. Most of these representations were found in regions not marked by Greek agonistic traditions, such as Italy and North Africa, so it is not entirely clear what the popularity of this imagery may say about the continuity of the Greek agon. Lehmann also refers to a little statuette of a wrestler, published here by Klose and Klein. It addresses the wrestler, Privatulus, in a somewhat or joking fashion. Unfortunately, the quality of the illustrations is mediocre, which reduces their usefulness.

One of the more substantial contributions is by Gutsfeld himself. He aims to show that (individual) agones continued much longer than traditionally thought, even though the numbers of known contests are relatively small. Legal texts still referred to contests and athletes, and their privileges up to the 6th century, which suggests that they still had contemporary relevance. We may object that some references to athletes may have simply served to illustrate some legal principle, but it is useful to have these texts collected.

The fact that some individual contests survived may not be so significant: what was at stake in late antiquity

is not the disappearance of sport as a pastime, but the demise of an integrated (globalising) sport system spanning at least half of the Roman empire. (The useful survey by Pina Polo confirms that Greek style *agones* were indeed very rare in the west and mostly limited to boxing matches). This system went back to the earliest days of Greek civilization, rose in the Hellenistic period, and flourished under the emperors, when it developed into full-scale agonistic network. The system relied on a considerable investment of time, money and energy by cities and civic elites in the organisation of contests, in infrastructure, and of course in the participation in these events. When these groups were no longer prepared, or able, to make these investments the network collapsed. Gutsfeld argues that financial reasons played a part. More recently Remijsen has suggested that institutional changes limiting the autonomy of cities were also important (S. Remijsen, *The end of the ancient Olympics and other contests: why the agonistic circuit collapsed in late antiquity*, *JHS*, 135, 2015, 147-164; *The end of Greek athletics in late antiquity*. Cambridge 2015). The symbolic rewards of athletic victory decreased, making it no longer worthwhile to individual members of the elite to invest time and effort in maintaining the athletic network, even though the traces (and the terminology) of an old sporting culture will have lingered on. A new sport and body culture took gradually shape: by the Byzantine period, the traditional *agon* had completely disappeared (Lilie).

The end of ancient athletics makes for fascinating reading, and the authors of this volume are to be commended for highlighting some of the elements of this story.

Onno M. van Nijf

KRISTINE IARA, *Hippodromus Palatii. Die Bauornamentik des Gartenhippodroms im Kaiserpalast auf dem Palatin in Rom*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2015. 269 pp., 84 figs; 29 cm (Palilia 30). – ISBN 978-3-95490-088-6.

Mit der vorliegenden Monographie publiziert Kristine Iara ihre 2007 an der Universität Köln abgeschlossene Dissertation. Die Autorin widmet sich darin der bis dato unpublizierten Bauornamentik im sog. Gartenstadion des Kaiserpalastes auf dem Palatin. Das Ziel der Arbeit ist es, erstmals die zugehörigen Bauteile aufzunehmen und den Baudekor zu rekonstruieren sowie der Bedeutung der Bauornamentik nachzugehen (Kap. I. Einleitung S. 11-20).

In den ersten sieben Kapiteln werden die 988, häufig nur fragmentarisch erhaltenen Bauteile vorgestellt und diskutiert. Iara gliedert die Bauglieder nach dem Befund: In Kap. II (21-36) bespricht sie die unteren Bauteile und die gemauerten Reste des unteren Geschosses, während die nicht mehr in situ befindlichen Basen, Säulen, Kapitelle und Gebälke wie alle übrigen Bauglieder nach Gattungen getrennt in den Kapiteln III-VII behandelt werden. Da je nach Gattung die Untersuchung unterschiedlich gewichtet wurde, weisen die Kapitel abweichende Gliederungen auf. Grundsätzlich versucht Iara aber stets, sowohl die Datierung, die Zuordnung zu einer Ordnung als auch das Material

und die Herstellungstechnik so intensiv wie möglich zu bearbeiten. Bei den Datierungen finden sich kaum Überraschungen: Das meiste ordnet die Autorin überzeugend dem severischen Stil zu, nur wenige Ausnahmen gehören der flavischen bzw. maxentianischen Zeit an. Insgesamt sind die Beobachtungen und die Argumentation überzeugend und nur in Ausnahmefällen unterlässt es die Autorin, eine Datierung zu begründen – so für das Widderhornkapitell, für das sie eine vorflavische Entstehung annimmt (S. 83).

Leider gewinnt man durch die Art und Weise, wie Iara das Material vorlegt – in erster Linie in Form von ausführlichen Besprechungen –, nur schwer einen Überblick. So vermisst man maßstabsgetreue Profilzeichnungen der wichtigsten Hauptgruppen der Basen und Kapitelle mit Ausnahme der tuskanischen Kapitelle. Außerdem wäre es hilfreich gewesen, wenn die sorgfältigen Analysen der aussagekräftigen Bauteile, wie der Kapitelle, jeweils durch eine Übersicht in Form von Diagrammen, Skizzen oder Tabellen ergänzt worden wären.

Das an die Befunddokumentation anschließende Kap. VIII fasst die wichtigen Ergebnisse zur Datierung und zur Zuweisung zu den Ordnungen zusammen (Rekonstruktion, S. 127-151). Der größte Teil der Bauornamentik datiert in severische Zeit, so dass auf dieser das Hauptaugenmerk liegt. Auch wenn nicht für jedes Geschoss aufgrund der Zufälligkeiten der Erhaltung eine ausreichende Menge an Bauteilen erhalten ist, so legt Iara doch überzeugend dar, dass drei Ordnungen anzunehmen sind: Für die untere sind Dreiviertelsäulen mit tuskanischen Kapitellen und einer Gesamthöhe von sieben Metern gesichert. Der zweiten Ordnung sind die Kompositkapitelle und der dritten Ordnung die korinthischen Kapitelle zuzuweisen. Für diese beiden Ordnungen ergeben sich im Bereich der Architrave, Frieze und Gesimse aufgrund des schlechten Erhaltungszustandes mehrere Wiederherstellungsmöglichkeiten, die Iara übersichtlich aufzeigt (S. 142-145). Insgesamt kann sie ihren Rekonstruktionsvorschlag für die severische Zeit trotz der vielen nur in Fragmenten erhaltenen Bauteile umfassend dokumentieren und schlüssig nachweisen.

Unter den Severern wurde das sog. Gartenstadion jedoch nicht neu errichtet, sondern 'nur' grundlegend restauriert. Fast die gesamte Bausubstanz der Umfassungsmauern aus Ziegeln datiert aufgrund von Stempeln in die Hauptausbauphase des Kaiserpalastes unter Domitian und auch einige wenige Bauteile weisen den flavischen Zeitstil auf. Da die meisten der unteren Ordnung angehören, nimmt Iara für diese erste Phase nur ein Geschoss an und arbeitet 'mit der Hypothese, dass die beiden oberen Ordnungen erst in severischer Zeit hinzugefügt wurden' (S. 135). Dies ist zwar völlig legitim, allerdings mutiert die Hypothese im Laufe der Arbeit zur Tatsache, wobei nicht immer hinreichend auf die zahlreichen Annahmen verwiesen wird, die dieser zugrunde liegen. Denn obwohl sämtliche Basen und Säulen nicht zeitlich eingeordnet werden können, verwendet die Autorin sie ausschließlich für die Rekonstruktion der severischen Ordnung. Auch datieren immerhin zwei korinthische Kapitelle der dritten Ordnung in flavische Zeit (so S. 69-75, dagegen wird in Anm. 759 auf S. 135 nur ein flavisches Kapitell

angegeben). Diese sowie das untere Geschoss und die zahlreichen undatierten Bauteile ließen sich zu verschiedenen Rekonstruktionsvorschlägen der Ordnungen vorseverischer Zeit zusammenstellen - wie die Autorin es ausführlich für die Bauteile unter Septimius Severus durchexerziert hat.

Dass 'wegen des fragmentarischen Zustandes des Bauwerks ... mit Quantitäten nicht argumentiert werden kann' (S. 135), ist zwar in Einzelfällen sicher richtig, doch ist angesichts des Materialschwunds, von dem nicht alle Bauteile in gleichen Maßen betroffen sind, eine Differenzierung dringend geboten. Dies wird besonders augenfällig, wenn man sich die Mühe macht und die datierten Bauteile mit den Angaben in Kap. IX. Material und Bearbeitung (S. 153-172) zusammenführt: Bei nur 0,3 % der erhaltenen Gebälke, verwundert es kaum, dass keines davon aus flavischer Zeit stammt. Ganz anders stellt sich die Situation bei den korinthischen Kapitellen mit einem Anteil von 3,66 % der erhaltenen Stücke dar: immerhin zwei flavischen Kapitellen stehen sechs severische gegenüber, denen sich weitere sieben anschließen, die vermutlich zu einem maxentianischen Einbau gehören. Relativ eindeutige Rückschlüsse kann man dagegen bei den Kompositkapitellen ziehen, die mit einem Bestand von 45,1 % als sehr gut erhalten gelten können und fast ausschließlich den severischen Zeitstil aufweisen. Demnach kann man mit Iara zu Recht davon ausgehen, dass eine Ordnung mit Kompositkapitellen erst am Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. im Hippodrom hinzugefügt wurde. Dagegen lassen sich für die flavische Zeit durchaus Überlegungen über ein mögliches zweites Geschoss mit korinthischer Ordnung anstellen.

Vor der Zusammenfassung (= Kap. XI. Intention und Wahrnehmung) widmet sich das letzte Kapitel dem Bautypus (S. 173-200). Zunächst erläutert Iara die antike Überlieferung und macht deutlich, dass anhand einer Stelle bei Plinius (*epist.* 5.6.32-40) ihrer Meinung nach nur ein monumentaler Garten mit einem langgestreckten Grundriss und einer gekrümmten Schmalseite als Hippodrom zu bezeichnen ist. Die in der Literatur als Synonym dazu gebrauchten Begriffe wie Gartenstadion und circus-Garten lehnt sie ab (S. 175-177). Archäologisch gesicherte Hippodrome gibt es nach dieser Definition zwei: auf dem Palatin und in der Villa von Posillipo. Dabei stellt sich die Frage, ob die Kriterien nicht zu einseitig nur auf den Grundriss der Umfassungsmauern beschränkt sind. Vor allem in Anbetracht der zahlreichen hippodrom-ähnlichen Monumentalgärten, denen zwar häufig die gekrümmte Schmalseite fehlt, die aber eine Meta- und/ oder Spina-imitierende Innenbebauung aufweisen (S. 177-187), erscheinen Zweifel angesichts einer allzu einschränkenden Definition angebracht. Es würde dem für die römische Villenarchitektur typischen Variantenreichtum entsprechen, wenn je nach Auftraggeber ein solcher Garten unterschiedliche Elemente eines 'echten' Hippodroms imitierte. Nichtsdestotrotz fasst Iara aber überzeugend zusammen, dass der Hippodrom auf dem Palatin in einzigartiger Weise 'eine Verdichtung der zu diesem Bautypus gehörenden, aber nicht zwingend erforderlichen Merkmale' zeigt (S. 189).

Der Stil der Bauornamentik entspricht sowohl im Verhältnis zu stadtrömischen Exemplaren als auch im Vergleich mit anderen Peristylen des Palastes dem her-

kömmlichen Standard (S. 193-194). Dagegen ist die Wahl der Ordnungen bemerkenswert: Die dreigeschossige Ordnung aus severischer Zeit lehnt sich vor allem aufgrund der unteren tuskanischen Ordnung an die Außenfassaden 'echter' Hippodrome und Circusanlagen an. Im zweiten Geschoss folgt mit den Kompositkapitellen eine der reichsten Ordnungen, möglicherweise ein Verweis darauf, dass sich hier die Hauptgeschossebene des Palastes befand (S. 192-193).

Dass man sich im Peristylgarten von Außenfassaden umgeben sah, ist ein wichtiges Ergebnis, das in Zukunft mit anderen Untersuchungen zur Wegeführung im Palast sowie zur Bauornamentik in den anderen Peristylen zusammenzuführen ist. Hierfür sowie für weiterführende Studien zur Palastarchitektur und zur Nutzung der Räumlichkeiten hat Iara mit der detaillierten und genauen Aufarbeitung der Bauornamentik im sog. Gartenstadion eine unabdingbare Voraussetzung geschaffen.

Andrea Schmolder-Veit

RAYMUND GOTTSCHALK, *Spätromische Gräber im Umland von Köln*. Darmstadt: Philipp von Zabern, 2015. XII+402 pp., 157 pls, 1 colour photo pl.; 28.5 cm (Rheinische Ausgrabungen 71). – ISBN 978-3-8053-4956-7.

This study discusses the finds and find circumstances of some 220 Late Roman graves from 69 sites in the environs west of Cologne. It is based on the author's thesis of 2003.

The characteristics of the deceased, their graves and cemeteries discussed are the following. The age of the deceased is higher than that usual in Cologne (or, for that matter, Nijmegen). They were all inhumed, sometimes with a bowl upside down on the upper body, as a sign of a farewell drink of those attending the funeral. Plates are often used as serving trays for drinks and perfumes used at dinner. Grave goods were usually placed in a niche. Food was served in pottery that had been used before, but sets of three small coarse jugs of type Gellep 112 had been bought just for the funeral. The habit of giving grave goods, i.e. meals, goes on longer than in Cologne, Gellep and Nijmegen. The region was and remained wealthy towards the end of the 4th century AD. (In the area published here, we have 1.1 glass vessel per grave, as opposed to Nijmegen, which has one per 7 graves. On the other hand, Nijmegen has one black-coated Trier beaker to every four graves, and the cemeteries published here have one per eleven graves. Were the Trier beakers cheaper and so did they travel farther?)

After several pages of protest, the author adopts Heike Pöppelmann's classification for 4th and 5th-century graves in the Rhineland (which also could hold for Nijmegen): A meals as grave goods, B reduction of grave goods to one vessel, a coin or nothing; C (for women) ornaments or (for men) narrow buckles, belt tongues and crossbow fibulae but no weapons; A, B and C seen as Romanic, i.e. belonging to those who still felt Roman; D1 (for men) elaborate belt sets without a weapon, D2 the same, with weapon; D2 (for women)

with Germanic fibulae and pins; *D* seen as Germanic, although every object was of Roman workmanship according to the author. Note that this is a classification not a chronology: in my Nijmegen book, Table 28, there are many early graves without grave goods, cut by later graves with.

In a section dedicated to cemeteries of Rhenish type (Hürth-Hermülheim, Eschweiler-Lohn and Villa Hambach 132; but Nijmegen would qualify as well, apart from the regional peculiarities mentioned above) the author comes with a remarkable theory on these classes *A-D*: the Romanic people are the ancestors of the Germanic ones, whose self-perception had changed. They had for generations been Germanic immigrants, who saw themselves first as Gallo-Romans and later as Germanic people. That might well be true! There is a parallel on the 20th-century gravestones in the Dutch province of Friesland/Frisia, which is bilingual: the same people, who wrote Dutch inscriptions before 1960, write Frisian ones since that time. If a future archaeologist/epigraphist would see them, he could easily think of Frisian people immigrating around 1960 and even driving out the original Dutch population.

There is a lengthy excursus on grave goods with Christian symbols, triggered by the presence of a finger ring with a representation of a well miracle. A man, either Moses or Saint Peter, in front of a rock from which water issues, holds a curved stick, called *virga thaumaturga* (miracle-worker's wand) by the author. The word *thaumaturgus*, from the Greek adjective *thaumaturgos* (not in the bible and first attested in the Christian sense in Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 3.24.3) not being a classical Latin word, I wonder, but have not been able to find, where it comes from. As to the puzzling mixture of biblical scenes and Medusa (or lion's) heads on chests in female inhumations, I suggest the heads were meant to keep everyone but the owner out, and that they have nothing to do with pagan religion. I know of no Medusa temple.

There is an ongoing discussion on the meaning of bronze miniatures, representing animals and domestic and agricultural instruments, found in Late Roman rich female graves in Cologne, its environs and further afield, and formerly incorrectly known as *Mithrassymbole*. The six latest contributions are 1 my article in *BABesch* 79 (2004) 165-173 (they have to do with the cult of Sabazios); 2 Philip Kiernan's discussion in his *Miniature Votive Offerings in the Roman North-West*, Mainz/Ruhpolding 2009, 195-210 (they have nothing at all to do with miniature and model votive offerings ... and there is still no definitive explanation for them); 3 R. Gottschalk in *ArchKorrBl* 42 (2012) 83-93 (a means of self-reflection of the female head of a *villa rustica*, following her into the grave); 4 my *The Late Roman Cemeteries of Nijmegen*, 2013, 360-7 (Sabazios; enlarged version of 1: chestnuts in the Nijmegen grave B 298, original number LN 88, were not yet known to me in 2004; nor was 3 known to me in 2013); 5 Gottschalk's present study, 125-7 (same as in 3); 6 my present review of 5 (Sabazios).

It will not come as a surprise to the author that I cannot agree with his interpretation, for five reasons. *a* The only animals present in the collection in this study, a frog and a salamander (rather than a lizard), both with obvious symbolism of having two kinds of life,

are poor advocates of his *villa rustica* interpretation. *b* A connection with *villae rusticae* was already excluded by P. Noelke in 1984. *c* The presence of a grave with such a miniature in the Late Roman cemeteries of Nijmegen, discussed in my article 1 and book 4, cannot have anything to do with a *villa rustica*. *d* The author, who sometimes sums up parallels in page-long footnotes (which made me long for clear tables instead) does not give a single parallel for a favourite collection following the deceased into the grave. *e* Moreover, the shells and long coin series often present in the same graves are discussed by the author as fortuitous extras, which he admits he does not understand, whereas in my Sabazios interpretation they belong to the same phenomenon, as expressed in the title of my article 1, *Shells and Scales*. And we do have proof of a Sabazios cult in Cologne in the form of the bronze Sabazios hand from there.

This book is indispensable for the study of things Late Roman in the north-western provinces, but it is not an easy read nor is it complete. It does not include finds come to light after the (undisclosed) date the author started studying the material. The same holds for some of the literature that has appeared after that date: instead of the indispensable handbooks on fine black-coated pottery, Symonds 1992 and Künzl 1997 (both well before the date of his thesis), duly mentioned in a footnote, the unsatisfactory Gellep typology for the Trier beakers is used, and even references to an obscure site Polch-Ruitsch for a parallel to indented beakers, where clear type numbers could have been given. There are no vessel typology plates (there are enough of those, the author argues), which obliges the reader to have half a circle of opened books around the book he is actually reading.

But after the sections on pottery and glass, I was impressed by the wealth of knowledge, displayed in lengthy footnotes, on all other kinds of objects. I admire the knowledge and at the same time dislike long footnotes with 'unimportant' as opposed to 'important' literature, listed in the *References* and indicated with author's name and one word from a title. In my opinion, every *thought* belongs in the main text, and footnotes should just *refer* to literature with author, year and page. And so they might be dispensed with altogether and replaced by the same within parentheses in the main text. Statistics of numbers of objects per type would have been handy. Anyway, this is an indispensable book.

I congratulate the author and I wish him *Felix vivas*: may you live happily.

D.C. Steures

MASSIMO FRASCA, *Archeologia degli Iblei. Indigeni e Greci nell'altipiano ibleo tra la prima e la seconda età del Ferro*. Scicli (RG): Edizioni di storia e studi sociali, 2015. 189 pp., 72 figs; 21 cm (Mediterraneo e Storia 4). – ISBN 978-88-99168-07-0.

The editor asked Massimo Frasca, professor of Classical Archaeology in Catania, after a lifetime of excavations in Sicily (and abroad) and study of indigenous

and Greek settlements and necropoleis, to return to subjects he studied in the beginning of his career. The book is an overview of the present knowledge on the contacts between indigenous people and recently arrived Greek colonists on the calcareous plateau of the Monti Iblei in the southeast corner of Sicily.

The plateau, with a flat top and crisscrossed by deep gorges, centres on Monte Lauro, from which a surprising number of rivers flows eastwards to the Ionian, and southwestwards to the Libyan Sea. Clockwise: to the Ionian Sea the river Leonardo with nearby Leontinoi, *S. Aloe*, *Colle San Mauro* and *Cava Ruccia* (indigenous sites fittingly in italics, Greek sites less fittingly in roman); the river Marcellino with on its shore *Villasmundo* and at its mouth Megara Hyblaea; the river Anapo with near its spring Kasmenai and Akrai, on its shore *Pantalica* and at its mouth Syracuse; the river Cassibile with nearby *Noto Antica*; the river Tellaro with nearby *Monte Finocchito* and at its mouth Heloros; and from here on to the Libyan Sea: the river Fiumara di Modica with nearby *Modica*, *Scardacucco* and *San Matteo*; the river Irminio with nearby *Ragusa Ibla* and *Cozzo Galesi*, and at its mouth Maestro; the river Ippari with nearby *Castiglione* and at its mouth Camarina; the river Dirillo with nearby *Licodia Eubea* and *Monte Casasia*; and finally, not springing from Monte Lauro, the rivers Maroglio and Gela, with at their common mouth the Greek city of Gela.

As opposed to Bronze Age coastal settlements like Thapsos, the indigenous Iron Age settlements keep away from the coast with its dunes, swamps and incursions by Phoenicians and Greeks. They relied on the clear waters of the many springs (that in a gorge of the Finocchito is gorgeous, I can assure) and used the highland for agriculture and stock-breeding (undoubtedly screaming, like in the seventies, *Arrr!* to get the beasts moving, the forelegs bound together against running away).

All named sites are discussed in this small paperback, apart from, surprisingly, *Licodia Eubea*, which gave its name to the final period of indigenous Greek-inspired pottery, with its amphorae obeying to the rule *stout to slender* for shapes that stay long in use.

The only chronology of the colonization from Greek literature to go by is that in Thucydides 6.3.2-3, which the author, undoubtedly rightly, calls a schematization; of course, the indigenous people wrote nothing, apart from a few graffiti like *Nendas* (a personal name) and the undecipherable *arelubalel*. Thucydides uses the model of fighting with and subjugating the indigenous people. The present study, which for the rest has to rely completely on archaeology, tells a different story.

In the period just before the Greek colonies arose, the material culture is named after the necropolis, entirely consisting of small rock-cut chamber tombs like almost all other indigenous necropoleis, of Pantalica South: 850/800-730 BC. Of the settlements, undoubtedly on the flat tops of hills isolated by steep gorges and generally accessible only from one side, next to nothing is known. The building excavated in Pantalica is no longer considered to be that of the 'good king' Hyblon, who granted land to the founders of Megara Hyblaea.

As soon as the Greeks appeared on Sicily, the phase named after Monte Finocchito began, dated by the author 730-650, with sub-phases. I think that 650 is far too late (please, 'early' and 'late', instead of the confusing metaphor of 'high' and 'low' chronologies: in stratigraphy, the earliest stratum is at the bottom) as no Early Corinthian is found amongst the Greek imported pottery. But much more interesting than the imported pottery is the charming Greek-inspired ware with its small *oinochoai* as guiding fossil.

The long and short of the study is that the indigenous people left their small villages and came together in large centres, from where they could keep an eye on the Greeks, with whom they must have had lively commercial contact. As soon as a Greek settlement arose at the mouth of the river nearby, the indigenous necropolis ended. In many places Greeks and indigenous people seem to have lived peacefully together, without any master-slave bond. Indigenous fibulae abound in the Syracusan, so Greek, Fusco necropolis. The founding of the sub-colonies Akrai, Kasmenai and finally Kamarina by the Syracusans (originally settlers from Corinth) was not directed against the indigenous people, but was a game of chess against other Greeks: the Chalcidians from Leontinoi and the Rhodians and Cretans from Gela.

Sometimes, the author is inclined to speculation. Bones found in two Finocchito pots by the excavator of it all, Paolo Orsi, remind the author of child burials like in Canale and Janchina in Calabria, a contact suggested twice. When we look up the finds and their circumstances, another archaeological law appears to have taken its toll: *the more enthusiastic the excavator, the greater the chance of bad documentation or preservation*: the finds are missing. Large meander bowls, known only from Finocchito phase sites, must according to the author have marked female burials (not a single female ornament found with them) and must have been imitated from metal bowls made in Greek colonies (never one found). There was no social stratification on Finocchito phase sites according to the author: I would say that the young girl in Finocchito grave VSF (or SFr) 60 who got two large Laconian ivory plaquettes as fibulae had inherited great wealth. On the other hand, I cannot believe that the enormous pedestalled symposium sets of the Sicilian Bronze Age were no status symbols of an elite but meant for community symposia of an egalitarian society.

When both the author and the reviewer of the present study were students, they both set their minds on publishing and interpreting Monte Finocchito. ('We all are young, we all need subjects for our theses', a Cambridge curator said to me in 1974.) Only after many months of work this became clear. Writing a thesis together was out of the question. I published the material and find circumstances in 1980, Massimo published his thesis in Catania in 1981, and I defended mine in Amsterdam in 1988. Personal circumstances prevented me from publishing my thesis in the same series (now no longer existing) as the material. I found my way in Satricum and Nijmegen, and Massimo Frasca grew out to be the expert on the Monti Iblei. I congratulate him on this masterly study.

I regret to see that my 1988 thesis, in the possession of the author and present in many university libraries on the basis of exchange, is not in the bibliography. Shame. But I am satisfied that my 1980 study of the material is mentioned whenever reliable information on finds and circumstances is needed: it is apparently not available anywhere else. Both theses on the same subject have a future. For mine, see now Academia.edu.

D.C. Steures

MARKUS WOLF, *Die Agora von Solunt. Öffentliche Gebäude und öffentliche Räume des Hellenismus im griechischen Westen*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2013. 92 pp., 47 figs, 113 pls, 2 maps; 34.5 cm (Sonderschriften des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Rom, volume 16). – ISBN 978-3-89500-726-2.

With this monograph on the agora of Soluntum the German Archaeological Institute in Rome and the Soprintendenza of Palermo have edited the third volume dealing with Soluntum, an ancient city situated on the north coast of Sicily, not far from Palermo. In the series 'Sonderschriften des DAI Rom' a first volume on the theatre of Soluntum by Armin Wiegand has appeared in 1997, followed in 2003 by the monograph on Hellenistic houses by Markus Wolf who now has also published the book under review on the city's center with the agora and the surrounding public buildings. In the preface the editors define the main aim of this series of publications that is to present a case study of a typical Sicilian town in the Hellenistic period. As a Phoenician founding Soluntum undoubtedly possessed specific features, for example in sacred architecture, whereas it also stands as a representative case for other cities in this region during the Hellenistic age. This is confirmed by recent excavations like those in Elymian Segesta and in Iaitas, but also in Greek Akragas, which demonstrate that in this period in a lot of other cities a new political center was built, with a monumental agora, stoas, bouleuterion, and theater.

The agora of Soluntum was excavated in the 1950s by Vincenzo Tusa, but the results have never been presented in a coherent publication. Therefore, Wolf has hardly any stratigraphic data at disposal and has to rely mainly on the methods of *Bauforschung* (building archaeology) by measuring the actual remains and providing reconstruction drawings on the basis of the preserved architectural elements. This approach characterizes the structure of the book: A relatively short textual part of only about 80 pages including the appendix with bibliography and index is followed by an extensive graphic documentation of high quality with 113 plates and two separate plans. The text is subdivided into six chapters. Chapter I - with 35 pages the biggest by far - is dedicated to the description and reconstruction of the buildings at the agora. Chapters II to V provide comparative classifications: Chapter II deals with stoas in the Greek West from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, chapter III focuses on elaborate stoas in

mainland Greece and Asia Minor, which show projecting wings or two storeys, whereas chapter IV presents an overview of bouleuteria in Sicily, and chapter V examines the agorai of Western Greek cities from Archaic to Hellenistic times. Finally, chapter VI gives a short summary of results, which is also translated into Italian.

The first chapter begins with a brief overview of the state of research on the agora of Soluntum, followed by detailed descriptions of the various investigated buildings. These were positioned on two terraces: A two-storey stoa and a large public cistern flanked the agora on one of its long sides. On an upper level near the theater stood the so-called odeon, in which Wolf rightly recognizes a bouleuterion, and the so-called rectangular building ('Rechteckbau') - a somewhat misleading term, as, most probably, this was an open-air sacred precinct. Furthermore, Wolf gives a description of some smaller buildings in the surroundings of the agora, among which the 'Spolienbau' is of major interest, because architectural elements from buildings at the agora were reused in it. The descriptive part of the text is quite demanding, because the reader is confronted with a lot of technical facts and measurements not all of which are necessary to understand the buildings. Heights are all related to a particular geodetic point, so that relative heights, e.g. of individual rooms or architectural features, must be converted by the reader him- or herself. Furthermore, one has constantly to go back and forth from text to tables or general plans.

The following section (I.4) provides reconstructions of the investigated buildings. Particularly the reconstruction of the stoa gives concern because it is very detailed but at the same time based on many hypothetical assumptions. *In situ* preserved are only nine chambers which formed the rear part of the building; regarding the porticoes only very few rests of the foundation remain. To these porticoes Wolf now assigns some Doric and Ionic architectural elements without giving a further reasoning. Moreover, only by means of a few specific measurements - the diameter of one capital and the width of one triglyph - the structure of the entire Doric colonnade of the ground floor is calculated. Also the reconstruction of the upper storey with Ionic columns does not seem mandatory on the basis of the presented architectural elements. In order to not be misunderstood, I think that the reconstruction of the stoa, with two projecting wings and two storeys, is by no means unrealistic. But it could have been explained more in detail and possible alternatives could have been discussed. Therefore, especially the very appealing reconstruction drawing (fig. 6) leaves the reviewer with mixed feelings, because this image will most probably form the idea of the agora of Soluntum for future research, even though many of the rendered details are purely hypothetical. Of course, this methodological approach is representative of a general tendency to reconstruct ancient reality - which is seldom known in detail - in suggestive images, which by themselves sometimes begin to dominate our notions of ancient environments. In this respect it would be desirable to develop ways of representation that allow

- despite their descriptiveness - to differentiate between hard facts and conjectural considerations. Be that as it may, Wolf's reconstruction of the other buildings surrounding the agora is convincing. Various small architectural structures on the agora are opened up for understanding and thereby an idea of how this urban center was once furnished with *exedrae* and honorary monuments is conveyed clearly. The question of how the big cistern was covered, whether with arches or stone beams over the preserved rests of pillars, is discussed with the help of comparative examples. For the bouleuterion the number of seats is comprehensibly established at a number of about 100; Wolf interprets this limited number as an indication that the building was actually supposed to house the council of the city. In some architectural details, for example the windows of the bouleuterion's façade or the arrangement of pediments and roof, the reconstruction, again, might go a bit too far, so that the beautifully drawn plate 110, which offers an axonometric overview of the agora with stoa and bouleuterion, should be taken with a pinch of salt.

Due to the excavation history in Soluntum, dating the various buildings at the agora is difficult and thus the reader is grateful that in chapter I.5 Wolf establishes a relative chronology, which he relates to the few dated finds and to the general historic framework. It becomes clear that the urban center was developed in three major building phases in the 3rd and 2nd century B.C. and remained in use throughout the early imperial period, before it gradually declined in the 3rd century AD.

In chapter II Wolf presents a comprehensive list of Western Greek stoas from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period. Remarkably, he finds parallels for the elaborate stoa of Soluntum especially in smaller Sicilian cities of the (late-)Hellenistic period, such as Halaesa, the sanctuary of Heloros or Segesta, because from this finding the notion of a flourishing regional building culture arises, which up to now is relatively little known. This idea is indirectly supported by the results of chapter III, in which comparative examples from Greece and Asia Minor are assembled, i.e. stoas which either possessed two projecting wings or two storeys. Even if most of the discussed buildings are significantly larger than the stoa of Soluntum, Wolf is able to demonstrate with chronologically related examples, e.g. the stoas of Eumenes II and Attalos II in Athens, the similarity of architectural motifs, which shows that Soluntum's stoa was up to date. Wolf assumes possible points of reference - or points of origin - in Syracuse, especially in the building projects of Hiero II. Unfortunately, such buildings exist only in a few badly preserved examples, so that this remains an issue for future studies. The bouleuterion of Soluntum, by contrast, was rather modest as the comparison with other Sicilian council buildings reveals in chapter IV. In chapter V, in which *agorai* of Western Greek cities are compared, Wolf points out that the public center of Soluntum did not only consist of the agora in the narrow sense, but also of the upper terrace, where the theater, the bouleuterion, and the sacred area were situated.

To summarize: It is the great merit of Markus Wolf to not only have investigated in detail the agora and

its adjoining stoa, but also the whole complex of the public center of Soluntum. With his thorough presentation he makes the various architectural remains accessible for further research and exemplifies at the same time the high quality of Hellenistic architecture in Soluntum. In addition, through the comparative study of Western Greek city centers the impression of a lively building activity particularly in Sicily is formed. Overall, Wolf's book will increase interest not only in the city of Soluntum but also in Hellenistic architecture on Sicily.

Clemens Voigt

CORNELIS VAN TILBURG, *Streets and Streams. Health conditions and city planning in the Graeco-Roman World*. Leiden: Primavera Press, 2015. 191 pp., 46 figs; 24 cm. – ISBN 978-90-5997-213-1.

As a young boy, my dream was to become an architect. I spent hours drawing house plans, building models with Lego-bricks, and even constructing a small village with streets between the houses, shops, and over bridges. Obviously I then knew nothing about city planning - and Providence lead my eventual career into Classics. I am not a specialist on city planning but still have a keen enough interest in the topic to regard this book a *sine qua non* for (amongst other disciplines) any Classicist.

The first impression that a reader experiences when taking up this book (apart from the colorful and aptly illustrative cover of the book), is that the author has clearly defined the two main topics of the book, namely 'Streets' - relating to the sub-heading of 'City Planning in the Graeco-Roman World,' and 'Streams' - relating to health conditions not only in sanitation conditions but also the interaction between anatomical situations and civil engineering projects.

Due to the author's functional and detailed *Introduction* (pp. 3-22) and *Overview* (pp. 23-25) explaining the gist of the book, it is not necessary for me to expand on each chapter individually. Each speaks for itself through a preceding description of the context, an abstract, and concluded by a summary and conclusion.

The detailed discussions of the topics that the author handles, the many references to ancient authors and the illustrations that he uses all enhance the value not only of the context of the specific chapter or section, but the same is true in the case of the author's arguments themselves, causing *Streets and Streams* to become realistically (and perhaps sometimes uncomfortably) alive as a result of the graphic descriptions in places, functional and necessary for the argument as they may be.

The author clearly enlightens the aspects of 'city' and 'body' by arguing the difficulties encountered in solving these problems over centuries since cities were normally planned and built for the crucial role of economic, social and military factors, and 'city planning and architecture were apparently not embedded in medicine' (p. 174); he continues his statement by pointing out that 'ancient medicine was restricted to the body itself and not to its urban and environmental context' (p. 175).

The very practical use of a bibliography at the end of each section or chapter, as well as the extensive *Index*

Locorum (pp. 181-186) and *Index Generalis* (pp.187-191) combined with the *Epigraphical and Papyrological sources* (p. 186) make it easy for any prospective student of this topic to follow up on ancient sources and afford valuable information for any student planning further research on this topic.

This work is a *sine qua non* for students and scholars of Ancient Studies to gain a solid background of and understand some of the day-to-day living conditions confronting the inhabitants of the Graeco-Roman world (Chapter 2), to students of Architecture (Chapter 2) to gain insight into the issue of traffic control - which in many modern cities still remains a problem - and of the necessity for collaboration with City Planners, as well as for Medical Students (partly Chapters 2 and also Chapter 3).

This publication (although it is not its primary aim) contains many lessons of which in our modern world we have already long forgotten the essence.

The Younger Pliny (1st century AD) stated *nihil novi sub sole*, 'there is nothing new under the sun.' The realistic tragedy, however, is that in many countries of our own era the horrendous sanitary conditions and environmental problematics experienced by the Graeco-Roman world still persist and/or have not changed at all.

No library of any school, college or university offering Classical Studies as a subject in any kind of way should be without a copy of this book on their shelves. The ideal would be that every student of the Classics or of Medicine or Architecture should be exposed to *Streets and Streams* as part of their prescribed curriculum. We need to learn from the past so that we can understand the present in order to build a better future.

Christoff Zietsman

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